

THE JERUSALEM POST

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 THE DIFFERENCE

State Comptroller hits at incompetence and bad management

By SHLOMO MAOZ, ARYEH RUBINSTEIN, and ROBERT ROSENBERG
 Bad management, incompetence and failure to prepare adequately for emergencies on the part of government ministries and public bodies were among the problems spotlighted yesterday in the 36th State Comptroller's report.

THE STATE
COMPTROLLER
REPORT NO. 36
1986

The destruction of past relics, mismanagement of the present, and

Police officers suspected of brutality were promoted, while the force continued to investigate charges made against it by citizens, the report said.

Hotellers found loopholes in foreign-currency regulations and ignored other rules that may require intervention by the Attorney-General's office, the report said.

The Finance Ministry did not have sufficient control over Defence Ministry budgeting and accounting, which has allowed arms dealers to avoid paying royalties on weapons sales, the report said.

Subsidy of commodities has had a long-term harmful effect on the efficient production of those commodities. Food producers are not prepared for economic or military emergencies, the report added, and there were excessive government bailouts of private economic bodies.

The Health Ministry continued to fail to match the increase in the numbers of the elderly with an increase in the number of geriatricians.

Archaeological treasures from the past were lost, methods of automobile licensing and driver-testing contributed to danger on the highways, and there were doubts about the safety and the economics of plans for a nuclear power facility, said the comptroller.

Police head says report gives an unfair picture

By BARBARA AMOUYAL
 For the Jerusalem Post
 "The Israel police will not tolerate bending of the law by elements within the force," Police Inspector-General David Kraus said yesterday in response to the 1985 State Comptroller's Report.

The report severely criticized the police handling of public complaints of brutality by officers, alleging that the ministry did not properly investigate charges of police violence or adequately discipline officers found guilty in such cases.

Speaking at a ceremony in Jerusalem in which 44 officers were promoted, Kraus said the report did not accurately portray the attitude of most of the force.

"Israel Police have always served, and will continue to serve, the law," Kraus declared. "One must not be influenced by the negative image struck on police by outside sources — an image earned from a few bad examples of police behavior. One must remember the thousands of policemen serving the state with integrity and loyalty."

In his report, the comptroller found negligence on the part of sub-district and district officers charged with handling public complaints, saying the officers failed to monitor the course of investigations. The report also criticized officers with failure to transfer cases to the national investigative unit set up specifically to handle public complaints of unnecessary use of force.

According to the report, police



State Comptroller Yitzhak Tamik at a press conference in Jerusalem yesterday, when he presented the annual report of his office. (Zoom 77)

often failed to secure testimony from witnesses, to order medical examinations for use as evidence in cases of police brutality, or to arrange identification line-ups of suspected offenders.

Further, the comptroller said "an unreasonably long time" — often a period of three months to a year from the date a complaint was filed — was required for a decision to be handed down. According to the comptroller, the slow and tedious handling of public complaints often served to damage the investigation.

(Continued on Page 7)



Ernest Japhet (Blatt)



Eli Hurvitz (IPPA)

Leumi's Japhet resigns, Eli Hurvitz takes over

By PINHAS LANDAU
 Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Ernest Japhet last night informed the board of Bank Leumi of his intention to resign immediately as chairman and chief executive officer of the bank, as recommended by the Bejski Commission.

In a 2½-hour special session, the board appointed Eli Hurvitz to succeed Japhet as chairman and Mordechai Einhorn to take over as chief executive officer.

Jewish Agency Chairman Arye Dulzin, who is a Bank Leumi board member, told the press after the meeting that Hurvitz, chairman of the Manufacturers Association, was the sole candidate for the post of chairman, but his appointment was not unanimously approved.

Dulzin and other board members

hinted after the meeting that other board members were likely to resign.

Eli Hurvitz, long-time managing director of Teva Pharmaceuticals, has been a member of the board of Bank Leumi for many years. He told reporters that he would be an active chairman of the bank but would not be involved in an executive capacity. But he said his new role would require him to leave all his other posts except that in Teva.

Neither Dulzin nor Hurvitz ruled out the possibility of Japhet being appointed to another post within the bank.

With the resignation of Japhet, observers believe that the resignations of other bankers from the Discount and Mizrahi banks demanded by the Bejski report cannot be avoided.

Damascus expels three British diplomats El Al suspect went to Syria before bomb attempt

By WOLF BLITZER and JERRY LEWIS

Jerusalem Post Correspondents

The man arrested in London last month on suspicion of an attempt to blow up an El Al airliner went on to Damascus "escorted by a Syrian intelligence officer" some six weeks before the incident, *The New York Times* reported yesterday.

The *Times* said that Israeli officials made this information available to the Reagan administration last week. "The Israelis say they received the information from Britain and officials there have expressed concern that early disclosure of the findings could jeopardize the investigation," the report said.

The same Israeli sources said the sophisticated explosive device used in the El Al incident and the logistical help in planting it were provided by people attached to the Syrian Embassy in London.

Yesterday, Syria ordered three British diplomats to leave the country in retaliation for British expulsion of Syrian officers serving in Lebanon.

Several Syrian officers serving in Lebanon have been executed during the past two weeks for threatening state security and holding contacts with the enemy, an Arabic newspaper published in Athens has reported.

According to a *Nashra*, the news of the hangings was kept secret until after the Syrian High Command had notified the officers' families that their sons were killed in "operations in Lebanon." The paper did not say how many officers had been executed.

Several Syrian attaches for alleged involvement in the El Al sabotage bid.

A Foreign Ministry statement in Damascus said British Ambassador William Roger Tomkys was summoned to the ministry yesterday and told the Britons must leave Syria within seven days.

It said the Syrian move was in response to the British government's decision, announced Saturday, to withdraw three members of the Syrian Embassy in London "without an objective justification."

Tomkys said that the Syrian decision was a "provocation."

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Leaders urge more sober discussion of security menace

PM says main talk should be of Syrian terror

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and IDF Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy, all issued a call yesterday to discuss in more sober and less dramatic terms the security menace posed by Syria.

Peres told the cabinet at its weekly meeting that Israel would do all in its power to avoid a war with Syria. At the same time, Peres said, it is up to the world to do everything required to bring international terrorism to an end, and to stem Syrian involvement in more sober and less dramatic terms the security menace posed by Syria.

Peres said that terrorism could be blocked by economic and diplomatic measures. Israel, he undertook, would play a role in the international effort to halt terrorism and to protect the airways of the world.

The prime minister said that it is useful for the U.S. and for President Reagan, rather than for Israel alone, to criticize Syria for involvement in international terrorism. He said that if Israel does raise its voice about Syria, it should talk more about Syrian support for terrorism than about its military deployment.

Peres said there is no substance to

reports that war is imminent between Israel and Syria. "All this war talk is pointless," he complained.

He praised what the U.S. and Britain have been doing and saying lately, in reaction to Syrian involvement in international terrorism. He made special mention of the expulsion of three Syrian diplomats from London.

In response to a comment from one minister that Rabin had spoken rashly about the Syrian threat during his U.S. visit, Peres said that he had read Rabin's statements in detail and would not describe them as "war talk." All the defence minister said was that if the El Al plane had been blown up by the bomb that terrorists tried to plant on board, Israel would have been compelled to react.

Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman broke in to blame "headlines in the media for inflaming the situation."

Rabin said yesterday on his return home that Israel does not seek war with the Arabs, and that he believes Syria does not want war either. But he stressed that Israel must be watchful and ready for any surprises, and must make sure the "Syrians are

(Continued on back page)

Ceremony at Wall tonight ushers in Remembrance Day

Jerusalem Post Staff

The torch signalling the start of Remembrance Day will be passed to President Herzog at a ceremony at the Western Wall tonight by the widow of Seren Yerahmuel Amali, who fell in the Gaza Strip during the Sinai Campaign in 1956.

Following a one-minute siren blast at 8 p.m., the torch will be passed to the president by Naomi Amali. Her husband fought in the Jewish Brigade in World War II and in the War of Independence, before taking part in the Sinai Campaign as a reserve artillery officer.

Bereaved parents will be represented at the ceremony by Ze'ev Bar, whose son Doron fell in Lebanon in the battle for Ein Zehala near the Beirut-Damascus road.

At 11 a.m. tomorrow, the sirens will sound again as ceremonies begin at 40 military cemeteries and at dozens of memorial markers around the country. Remembrance Day will end tomorrow night with the start of the ceremony on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem ushering in Independence Day.

The Jerusalem Labour Council announced yesterday that flowers will be distributed free at 22 military cemeteries tomorrow, by members of the Noar Haoved Vahalomed. The council spokesman said that this was being done to prevent flower vendors from taking advantage of those paying visits to the cemeteries by charging high prices.

near the Beirut-Damascus road.

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HAVE HECHT WILL PICNIC

Special Annual Independence Day Picnic Offer

The picnic season is upon us — and Hecht, as always, has prepared a mouthwatering choice of meats for your grill: Roumanian kebabs, American hamburgers, succulent shishkebab skewers, — even choice charcoal for a really great picnic. Independence Day is approaching — don't be caught unprepared — take Hecht along on your picnic.

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T-Bone Steak for the Hungry	23.30 NIS/kg
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INDEPENDENCE DAY SUPPLEMENT

Thirty-eight years of independence are recalled in a special Yom Ha'atzmaut supplement distributed with tomorrow's enlarged *Jerusalem Post*.

EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAYS
The New York Times
 WEEKLY REVIEW
 INSIDE TODAY

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	11.5.86	MIN.	MAX.
AMSTERDAM	10	15	18
BRUSSELS	9	10	15
BUDAPEST	10	15	18
COPENHAGEN	7	10	15
FRANKFURT	11	12	17
GENEVA	9	10	15
HAMBURG	10	15	18
HONGKONG	26	29	34
JERUSALEM	10	15	18
LONDON	12	15	18
MADRID	7	10	15
MONTREAL	7	10	15
NEW YORK	7	10	15
OSLO	6	10	15
PARIS	10	15	18
RIO DE JANEIRO	26	29	34
SÃO PAULO	26	29	34
STOCKHOLM	12	15	18
TOKYO	17	20	22
TORONTO	9	10	15
VIENNA	9	10	15
ZÜRICH	11	12	17

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to cloudy with chance of rain. On Wednesday, scattered rain.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	45	7-18	17
Golan	48	8-19	18
Nabaria	51	7-18	17
Safed	46	12-26	25
Tiberias	47	12-20	19
Nazareth	48	10-24	23
Afula	45	10-20	19
Shomron	52	12-22	21
Tel Aviv	57	12-22	21
B-G Airport	52	12-22	21
Jericho	30	12-28	27
Gaza	61	14-22	21
Beerseba	25	8-25	24
Eilat	19	16-29	28

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Herzog last night hosted a dinner at Beit Hanassi in honour of U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese.

The Adolf and Fani Marcus Residences, a 31-unit apartment building for Weizmann Institute of Science researchers, was dedicated yesterday.

The Bernd V. Dreemann Laboratory for Arid Zone Research was dedicated yesterday at the Hebrew University Faculty of Agriculture in Rehovot, in the presence of Mr. Dreemann, Secretary General of the German-Israeli Fund for Research and International Development.

A reception was held yesterday for Antwerp Mayor Bob Cools at Belgium House at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, by the Israel-Belgium Friendship Committee and the Association of Belgian Immigrants, in the presence of Belgium's Ambassador to Israel Bob Lebecq.

DEPARTURES

Haifa Mayor Arye Guri to attend the funeral today of Gerson Doffman, late mayor of Haifa's twin city, Marseille. Guri will represent the Israeli government together with Ambassador to France Ovadia Sofer.

Independence Day greetings from Reagan

Premier Peres has received an extremely warm Independence Day message from President Reagan, the Prime Minister's Office announced. The text was as follows:

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister: 'As you celebrate the 38th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel, I would like to wish you a most joyous *mazel tov* on behalf of all Americans.

"The United States takes great pride in the glorious achievements of your country. We see our own ideals reflected in its pioneering spirit, in its sacred mission as a refuge for the oppressed, and its vision as a light unto the nations.

"May Israel continue to exhibit in its future the freshness and vigour which it has shown throughout its history, and which it proudly proclaims to the world.

Sincerely,
Ronald Reagan."

Peres also received a congratulatory message from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

MARRIED

Ronnie Chassis Borchard and Prof. John Mayer
12.5.86 Munich, West Germany

Sing Along with Sara'le Sharon

under the patronage of the
Minister of Tourism Mr. Avraham Shari
for guests of Jerusalem hotels on

Independence Day.

The event will take place on May 14, 1986 from 5:00 p.m.

at the King David Hotel, Jerusalem.

Admission by invitations available at hotels and Jerusalem Tourist Office.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Meese, Moda'i coordinate on combating terror

By BARBARA AMOYAL
For The Jerusalem Post

U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese told Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i yesterday that he was pleased with the coordination Israel and the U.S. have achieved in combating terrorism.

The two men met for over four hours yesterday to coordinate positions on what Meese defined as "the number-one enemy of all democratic nations."

Meese, on his first visit to Israel, was visibly moved as he praised Israel for abiding by "legal principles and the commitment to the rule of international law that we share."

Moda'i lauded recent U.S. decisions to extradite for trial suspected Nazi war criminals. He was referring to the February 28 extradition of John Demjanjuk.

Regarding reports about former UN secretary-general Kurt Waldheim's alleged Nazi past, Moda'i

said he would raise the matter with U.S. officials after his ministry has studied the Waldheim files.

Later in the day, at a ceremony marking the opening of the Israel Bar Association Centre in Jerusalem, Prime Minister Peres praised Meese and the Reagan administration as "true friends of Israel." Peres said the U.S. has embarked on a war against terror that will preserve law for all democratic states.

In response Meese told the audience, which included President Her-

zog, Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar, State Comptroller Yitzhak Tzoref, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and Ministers Nissim, Corfu and Shabai, that the relations between the two countries "have never been better."

Meese invited Moda'i to visit Washington at the beginning of June to discuss legal cooperation. Among topics for discussion will be the revision of the extradition treaty to facilitate the trial of criminals, it has been learned.

Balas charged with fraud

By YORAM GAZIT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Financiers David Balas and Zvi Aharoni were formally charged with fraud yesterday in connection with "grey market" loans they received from the United Kibbutz Movement.

Police presented the charges at Tel Aviv District Court.

Balas and Aharoni will be brought to the court today, and prosecutor Penina Devorin is expected to ask for an extension of their remand

until the end of the case.

Devorin will argue that if Balas and Aharoni are released on bail, as was agreed last Tuesday between the police and their attorneys, they will try to disrupt the legal proceedings, influence witnesses or flee the country.

Balas and Aharoni were arrested last Monday on suspicion of defrauding Eshet Kesafim, a firm controlled by the United Kibbutz Movement and Hashomer-Hazioni.



The blast from this 100-year-old Krupp cannon overlooking Cairo signals the end of the day's fast yesterday. During the Moslem holy month of Ramadan, Moslems fast from sun-up to sundown. (AFP telephoto)

Mubarak in surprise visit to Jordan

Post-Mideast Staff

Egyptian President Mubarak paid a lightning visit to Jordan yesterday for meetings with King Hussein. After two rounds of talks in the Red Sea port of Akaba, Mubarak flew back to Cairo last night.

Reliable sources said that the previously unannounced visit had been expected and did not indicate any new developments.

Mubarak wanted to hear about the talks the king held last week in Amman with Syrian President Hafez Assad. Hussein wanted to hear a report on recent talks in Cairo between Egyptian officials and PLO leaders, especially PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

The Jordanians are displeased with the warm attitude Egypt has been displaying toward the PLO leaders at a time when Jordan is cooling its relations with the organization, the sources said.

Shcharansky speaks at solidarity rally

NEW YORK (JTA). — Anatoly Shcharansky made an emotionally charged appearance before a crowd estimated at some 300,000 people here yesterday, saying that their solidarity with the cause of Soviet Jewry was responsible for his release.

"All the resources of a superpower were not enough to isolate a Jew who hears the voice of solidarity with his people," Shcharansky told the huge mass of people gathered at the 15th annual Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry rally in Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza across from the United Nations. "All this has become possible because of you," he said in a 12-minute address.

Diamond heist in TA

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Close to \$100,000 in diamonds and \$5,000 in cash were stolen last night at gunpoint from a diamond-polishing plant near the central bus station here, in the sixth diamond-polishing shop robbery in the last month and a half.

Money-changer's suicide may cost W. Bank investors dear

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hundreds of West Bank investors may lose large sums following the apparent suicide last week of a prominent Jordanian money-changer, sources in the area said yesterday.

Saliba Shukri Rizk, 60, who had been in financial trouble, was found dead Thursday outside his Amman home with a bullet in his head. His debts have been put at between 12 and 16 million Jordanian dinars (\$42-54 million), and sources said the Central Bank of Jordan had refrained from declaring him bankrupt so as not to endanger banks and other businesses to which he owed money.

A prominent East Jerusalem businessman who knew Rizk said hundreds of private investors, mainly in East Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Ramallah, might lose money they had invested through Rizk's firm, which provided a 16 per cent interest rate to its clients.

Rizk's company was one of five major money-changing firms in Amman used by West Bank investors

and money-changers, and was known for its reliability and integrity, the businessman said. The firm served more than 4,000 Jordanian depositors.

Though Rizk's death has been the subject of much discussion in East Jerusalem financial circles, money-changers there were tight-lipped yesterday, saying only that Rizk had been "the best in the business."

Many denied involvement with him. The businessman said Rizk had supplied local money-changers with gold, dollars and other hard currency, reportedly hauled daily over the Jordan bridges in pickup trucks. His firm bought and sold oil and traded on the commodities markets in London and New York. It also ran businesses in the Persian Gulf states and in Europe.

Rizk's losses have been attributed in part to the drop in world oil prices.

Jordan has regulated the activity of some 30 licensed money-changers since 1976, when investors lost over \$5.7 million in coin and gold futures traded by Jordanian money-changing firms.

Spain has no plans to break ties with Libya

MADRID (AFP). — The Spanish government has no intention of breaking diplomatic relations with Libya, although their links are "currently very difficult and delicate," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said here yesterday.

The comment came in response to a report in the independent daily *El País* that Madrid is considering breaking relations because of irregular activities by the Libyan People's Bureau, or embassy, here.

Each time Spain expels a Libyan diplomat, it is because the diplomat

has carried out activities incompatible with his status and against Spanish interests, the spokesman said.

Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez said Saturday he had told Spain's ambassador in Tripoli, Ricardo Peydro, to inform Libyan authorities personally of Spain's "annoyance" over People's Bureau activities here.

Spain ordered Libyan Consul General Saad al-Salam Ismail out Friday after accusing him of contact with a Spanish colonel who had been to Tripoli to get financial support.

EL AL SUSPECT

(Continued from Page One)

sion was "quite unjustifiable" and "regrettable."

Nezar Hindawi, 31, has been arrested by British authorities. He has been accused of giving his pregnant Irish girlfriend the hand luggage which contained a sophisticated bomb hidden in a false bottom.

According to the lengthy report in *The Times*, Hindawi fled to the Syrian Embassy "immediately after the foiled attack" and was briefly kept in two apartments ordinarily used by Syrian diplomats accredited in Britain.

"Hindawi later fled his Syrian keepers and went to the hotel room of an Arab friend, who got in touch with another Hindawi brother, Mahmoud, an employee in the medical department of the Qatar Embassy in London," the report continued. "Both men evidently persuaded Nezar Hindawi to give himself up."

The three British diplomats ordered to leave Syria were named as defence attache Col. Maitland Tippetton (who is currently in Britain on leave), first secretary David Taylor, and vice-consul Andrew Balfour.

The damage to relations with Syria will be small, however, since the three can be replaced. It was understood in London last night that Whitehall will allow Damascus to send three other diplomats to fill the posts vacated by those due to leave by next Saturday.

Bible quiz winners

AFULA (JTA). — The bible quiz for Diaspora youth, held here last night, was won by American Gad Dischi, who received 85 out of 100 possible points. Placing second was Eliezer Fischer of Canada.

Friday night cinema sparks sharp discussion

Friday night cinema in Haifa and Petah Tikva provoked some sharp discussion at yesterday's weekly cabinet session, and led Prime Minister Peres to promise that he would submit to the attorney-general any proposals by Orthodox ministers to buttress the status quo in religious observance.

Peres said: "Personally, I do not believe that the Sabbath should be violated in public."

Leading the barrage of criticism were National Religious Party doyen and Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg, and Minister-Without-Portfolio Yosef Shapira, the Morasha leader.

Shapira said: "The Orthodox public will not be able to put up with the erosion of the status quo. There will be renewed trouble between the observant and the secular communities."

Burg said: "Now that the status quo on religious observance has been trampled on in Haifa and Petah Tikva, the deterioration will spread like wildfire."

Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein, the Shinui leader, countered by blaming the Orthodox community for encroaching on the rights of the secular community more and more.

Rubinstein said: "Tel Aviv has had Friday night cinema for years. So why not Haifa? The status quo in religious affairs commits the government coalition. It does not commit the local authorities."

To this Shapira replied: "The national-religious community seeks to defuse tension between observant and secular Israelis, but its patience is gradually becoming exhausted."

The two chief rabbis of Haifa yesterday sent a telegram to Peres to urge that the government pass a nation-wide Sabbath observance law.

The demand was prompted by the opening of five cinemas in Haifa last Friday night.

CABINET NEWS

ASHER WALLFISH

Kimche won't see Waldheim

Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche, who left for Vienna yesterday to attend a meeting of the International Press Institute (IPI), will not meet Kurt Waldheim there, Foreign Ministry sources said yesterday.

The ministry was reacting to reports apparently put out by Waldheim's campaign headquarters in the election campaign for Austria's next president.

The ministry said that Kimche accepted the invitation to attend the IPI meeting six months ago. Israel's policy is not to boycott international gatherings in Austria, and so there is no reason why Kimche should not go to Vienna for the IPI session as planned; it was said in Jerusalem.

Shultz urges budget cut

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has urged Prime Minister Peres to make sure that the government cuts its budget, so as to eliminate excess expenditure of \$200m.-\$300m.

Shultz reportedly wrote Peres that if the achievements of the government's economic policy are to be maintained, it is vital that the budget not be exceeded.

The secretary's exhortation came in the course of a message which accompanied his official announcement that the U.S. Treasury Department was transferring \$375m. of this year's special economic grant, which will total \$1.5b. by October 1986.

Peres explains decision to join 'Star Wars'

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Peres yesterday justified Israel's decision to join the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative ("Star Wars") research project. Sitting in on the opening session of the National Council for Research and Development, which met at the Prime Minister's Office, Peres said that "if the Soviet Union would stop trying to develop weapons against them."

The premier was rebutting critics who claim that Israel's participation in the SDI, by which the U.S. hopes to create a "safety net" in space against Soviet nuclear weapons, would increase Soviet hostility to Israel.

The council, newly constituted under the chairmanship of Prof. Sha-

lom Abarbanel of Tel Aviv University, comprises 29 top scientists and industrialists, including the chief scientists of a number of government ministries.

Its task is to propose scientific policy for the advancement of the economy and society, to recommend a scale of priorities in national scientific research, and to advise the minister of science and development.

It was the first time in many years that a premier had attended the first session of a new council.

Peres told the group that he hoped the next government budget would give higher priority to scientific research and development, admitting that the present budget is inadequate.

Peres urged industry to initiate more projects promoting science.

With deep sorrow we regret to announce the sudden passing of

EDITH HEBENSTREIT ז"ל

She bequeathed her body to science.

Her Sister-in-law —

Clara Hebenstreit and all relatives in Israel and abroad

Please refrain from condolence visits.

We regret to announce the death in Metz, France,

on May 7, 1986 (Nissan 28, 5746)

of our dear mother, grandmother, sister,

RAHEL LEA (Rose)

GRUBER ז"ל

née Schlitten

Miriam Gruber-Abenaim and Children

Esther Gruber-Abenaim and Children

Jeanette Gruber

Ivy and Gittel Rottenberg

Abenaim, Pidorcz, Sigal,

Tasma and Tennenbaum Families

28 ave. de la Forêt Noire

Strasbourg, France

We regret to announce the untimely death of our dear member

YOCHANAN SELA ז"ל

The funeral will take place today, Monday, May 12, 1986, at 3 p.m., at Kfar Hanassi.

Mina, Ido, Itai and Nadav

Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi

Norman Heckler and Family, USA

Mrs. Strikovsky, Tel Aviv

Zaltsberg Family, France

The United Studios Israel

The United Studios Israel

mourn the death of

ELIEZER DOROT (Dautch)

The body will lie in state today,
Monday, May 12, 1986
at 1 p.m. at the Herzliya Studios.

The funeral will leave at 2 p.m. for the Herzliya cemetery.



MACHON MEIR / MACHON ORA

extend sincere condolences to

Mrs. Chana Bunim Poupko

Director of the Machon Ora English Programme

on the death of her husband



Rabbi MORDECHAI POUPKO ז"ל

Executive Board — Staff — Student Body

Italy helped Gaddafi stay in power

MILAN (Reuter). — Italy's secret service helped Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi stay in power in the 1970s by providing him with arms and by fanning a coup attempt, a former head of the organization said in an interview published yesterday.

Gen. Ambrogio Viviani, head of the secret service SID from 1970 to 1974, told the weekly magazine *Panorama* that Italy had helped Gaddafi because it wanted to protect its oil interests in Libya.

Viviani was quoted as saying that the secret service was ordered to make sure the state energy group Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI) was not forced to close its Libyan operations.

"We had to show Gaddafi we were his most trustworthy friends... We supplied him with a great many weapons, organized his secret services and provided him with experts to help modernize the Libyan forces," Viviani said.

Viviani, appointed when Italy's current Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti was prime minister, has seen his career decline since 1981, when his name was discovered on secret lists kept by the illegal Masonic Lodge P2.

In the *Panorama* interview, Viviani said Libya had asked Italy for arms through diplomatic channels, and the Italian Foreign Ministry had ordered the secret service to supply Gaddafi with howitzers, machineguns, bombs, rifles and many other weapons.

Italy also sent about 50 military experts to Tripoli to teach the Libyans to use the weapons, he said.

Viviani was also quoted as saying that the service warned Gaddafi about a coup attempt led by Abdullah Ben Abdill. Abdill and his supporters were subsequently seized by Libyan forces on their way to Tripoli.

The following year the secret service pre-empted another threat against the Libyan leader when it arrested a group of Libyans and mercenaries on board a ship at Trieste, Viviani said. He said Gaddafi had shown his thanks by sending jewels to the wives of all the officers involved in the operation.

He said the Italian government had also reached an agreement with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat which guaranteed that Italy, in exchange for certain favours, would not be a target of international terrorist attacks.

Soviets may help Libya build nuclear plant

LONDON. — The Soviet Union plans to help Libya build a nuclear power plant, the Soviet ambassador in Tripoli told Libyan television Saturday night.

"We have an idea to cooperate in building a nuclear power station which will help the Libyan people to economize in the production of oil," Ambassador Oleg Perevyskin said in an interview monitored by the BBC here.

He did not elaborate on the proposed plant.

The envoy said Moscow was committed to nuclear industry "because we believe that the use of oil or natural gas to generate electricity is coming to an end."

The Soviet Union was to have provided two nuclear reactors for a plant to be built in Libya by the Belgian firm Belgonucleaire, but the project was shelved in 1984 after objections were raised, including by the U.S.

לכנס את הנילוס
האם לא תתנו
לנו אתם את
דוד סולטן
שלנו



About 200 Easter pilgrims from Ethiopia demonstrate yesterday across from the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem. They are urging the government not to yield to Egypt's demand to transfer control of two chapels in Deir a-Sultan, adjacent to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, from the Ethiopian Church to the Coptic Church. The poster at the bottom reads: "Our right to Deir a-Sultan is based on 3,000 years of life there."

Aid allocated to Jordan Rift farmers

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A team of senior Treasury, Agriculture and World Zionist Organization officials was instructed yesterday to provide Jordan Rift Valley settlements with enough money to bring in this year's harvest.

The decision was taken at the end of an hour's meeting with the settlers' representatives at the Prime Minister's Office.

The settlers had described their problems to Prime Minister Peres, Finance Minister Nissim, Agriculture Minister Nehamkin, Absorption Minister Tur and to Deputy Prime Minister Levy, who visited moshav Masu'a on Friday.

Yisrael Nedivi, secretary of the Jordan Valley Regional Council, asked for an immediate allocation of \$6 million for this year and to prepare for next year.

The farmers are to present the committee with a detailed list of their needs for the next three months, and the experts are to reach a decision by Wednesday on the amount to be allocated.

The experts — Meir Ben-Meir, the Agriculture Ministry director-general, Yehuda Dekel, the WZO Settlement Department director-general, and Aharon Fogel of the Treasury — were told the ministers will endorse any decision they take as long as it is unanimous, an aide to Peres told *The Jerusalem Post*.

'Mormon group opposed to Jerusalem centre'

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

John Heimerman, a Mormon critic of his church's policy, is planning to come to Israel this month in connection with the controversial Brigham Young University centre being built on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem.

Heimerman, the author of *The Mormon Corporate Empire*, a scathing criticism of his faith's business practices, is professor of anthropology at the University of Utah and director of the Anthropological Research Centre in Salt Lake City. He is also reportedly part of a group of Mormons who oppose the BYU centre.

According to anti-BYU activists who have spoken with Heimerman, he and several other Mormons do not want a Mormon presence where it is not wanted. He is also said to feel that the Mormons could not abide by

any agreement not to engage in missionary work.

Heimerman reportedly told informants that the news of a recent Mormon demonstration in Salt Lake City against the BYU Jerusalem centre had been kept out of the media by the church.

He is also said to have information about the failure of church leaders to keep an agreement with the Saudi government not to proselytize in Saudi Arabia, which led to the arrest of a number of Mormon officials by the Saudis.

Dr. David Galbraith, director of the BYU programme in Jerusalem, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that he had not heard of Heimerman until he read a news item about him last week. A call to the U.S. elicited the response that "there was no special interest in him in Utah," according to Galbraith.

HOME NEWS IN BRIEF

Denver Boot respite

Cars parked illegally in Tel Aviv on Remembrance Day tomorrow and Independence Day (Wednesday) will not have their wheels clamped in a Denver Boot, the city said yesterday. But their owners will still face a fine.

Kindergarten insurance

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Children attending private kindergartens will be covered by a compulsory comprehensive accident-insurance policy starting in September.

The policy, prepared for the Association of Private Kindergartens by the Hamagen Insurance company, will cost parents NIS 12 per year per child. Among the benefits will be coverage of medical expenses not paid by the health funds, and an allowance equivalent to \$20 a day if a working mother has to take time off from work because of her child's accident.

Modern Living Fair

TEL AVIV. — Over 200,000 people are expected to attend the Modern Living Fair for consumer goods to be held at the Tel Aviv Fair Grounds from May 22 to June 7.

Tickets will cost NIS 6 for adults and NIS 4.5 for children and soldiers.

High court orders city to allow petitioning

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The High Court of Justice yesterday approved a petition from the Citizens Rights Movement to order the Netanya municipality to allow the CRM to set up tables to collect signatures on a petition in the town.

The CRM had tried to set the tables in April to collect signatures against the local tax rate. Municipal workers had forced party activists to take the tables away.

Eastern bloc dancers to perform here

HAIFA. — Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia are to participate in the Israel Folklore Festival here in July. Festival organizer Shmuel Bialik said it would be the first time these countries sent dance troupes.

Yesterday a four-member Russian delegation in Israel to mark the 41st anniversary of victory over the Nazis was greeted at Haifa City Hall by Mayor Arye Gurel.

Shoah on video

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LOS ANGELES. — *Shoah*, the 9½ hour Holocaust documentary film by French journalist Claude Lanzmann, will be released in video cassettes on July 16 by Paramount Home Video.

The video cassette version will sell for a record price of \$299.95 and has been divided into five cassettes. No rental price has been announced, but it is also expected to set a record.

Sophie Dubnov-Erich

Sophie Dubnov-Erich, the eldest daughter of the Jewish historian Shimon Dubnov and wife of pre-World War II Bund leader Henryk Erlich, died in New York at the age of 101 last week.

Dubnov-Erich was a Bundist intellectual, writer, poet and translator. She was instrumental in setting up Jewish trade unions in Czarist Russia and Poland.

Her father was murdered by a Gestapo officer in Riga, Latvia, on December 8, 1941. Apparently at about the same time her husband, and another Bundist leader, Victor Alter, were killed on Stalin's orders in a jail in the Soviet Union.



President Herzog accepts a copy of the annual state comptroller's report from Comptroller Yitzhak Tunik yesterday.

Case for nuclear plant not yet proven

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A complete chapter of the State Comptroller's Report is devoted to the subject of Israel's acquisition of a nuclear reactor to generate electricity. It is based on reports made over the preceding five years, and while the statement that the probability of a serious accident at a nuclear plant is low rings ironically in face of the Chernobyl disaster, most of the issues dealt with, and the conclusions, are still relevant.

Much of the state comptroller's report is a recapitulation of the one prepared in 1980 by the then president of the Haifa Technion, Amos Horev, and he finds it necessary to repeat Horev's call for a single organizational, executive body to coordinate the government's policy on nuclear power.

The state comptroller points out that while the question has been under consideration since 1962, when the Yifsh Committee envisaged a nuclear power station in operation by the end of the Sixties, no properly-organized institutional structure has yet crystallized to deal with this complicated subject in an orderly fashion. He cites the Ministry of Energy's explanation that it had deliberately refrained from setting up such a structure so long as there was no assurance that anything would come of the project.

As things stand, there are three bodies dealing with the subject: the Energy Ministry's nuclear energy branch; the Atomic Energy Committee; and the Nuclear Research City at Dimona. The Israel Electric Corporation has its own department of nuclear planning.

The report notes that the initial agreed solution has yet been found to the problems of cooling the reactor, ensuring its safety, and removing the waste products. Furthermore, the technical and economic examinations were conducted on a reactor model that is not available for purchase.

The Horev Committee in July 1982 recommended the acquisition of a nuclear power station "as soon as possible," but the government rejected its recommendation that it set up an operative body, e.g., a government company, to handle the whole matter.

The Electric Corporation's de-

THE STATE
COMPTROLLER
REPORT NO. 36
1986

velopment plans include the erection of additional power stations to begin operating in the mid-Nineties. A nuclear station was to have been part of this programme, replacing coal-fuelled stations. In the circumstances, however, plans for building another pair of coal-fuelled stations are proceeding.

"This fact," says the state comptroller, "found expression in the summary of the discussion in the executive committee [on October 20, 1985], from which it may be concluded that the erection of nuclear reactors and their integration in the electricity network in the coming decade had, for the time being, been dropped from the agenda."

The report points out that no estimated cost of producing one kilowatt of electricity in a nuclear plant is over \$2,000, whereas the threshold of economic feasibility (based on the cost in a coal-burning plant) is below \$1,000.

The state comptroller notes that the capacity of available nuclear plants may be too great for the country's existing energy system. More recent nuclear technology may be applied to commercial production by the end of the century and come up with something more suited to conditions in Israel, he says.

Strategically, it is not at all certain that the available nuclear technology is superior to that of coal, the report says. Adoption of nuclear technology exclusively means dependence on the manufacture of the reactor and the supplier of the fuel.

The report summarizes the negative opinion of the former chief scientist in the Energy Ministry based on conditions existing in 1984. The only advantage he saw in a nuclear power plant was the relative ease of storing fuel reserves for a year or more and the ability to import the fuel by air.

In his view, the disadvantage should preclude Israel from acquiring nuclear reactors in the next few decades even if one could get them

for next to nothing. For example, a nuclear reactor would be competitive with a coal-fuelled station only if the price of coal were as high as \$75 a ton and the alternative interest rate to the economy as low as 6 per cent.

Countering the argument that a nuclear plant would free us from the need to import conventional fuel to produce electricity, the former chief scientist said that whereas power stations using coal or heavy oil (*mazut*) have a wide choice of sources for those fuels, a nuclear reactor creates a dependence on a single fuel supplier.

(The state comptroller notes that this view is rejected by the ministry, which maintains that Israel can get nuclear fuel from a number of sources.)

The chief scientist pointed to other alternatives, cheaper even than coal, such as the fuller exploitation of solar energy, the exploitation of wind energy, and the direct burning of shale oil, garbage and agricultural waste. Within five years, he said, these methods could produce about 1,200 megawatts, but if we decide on a nuclear project, the investment in these alternatives would be greatly reduced or perhaps cut off altogether.

After describing two more negative points about nuclear reactors raised by the former chief scientist, the state comptroller writes: "The document also discusses the ecological dangers stemming from the absence of a reasonable solution to the problem of waste removal; the problem of ensuring the safety of the reactor; and the limitations on district planning that will result from its existence."

This relegation of the ecological and safety aspects of nuclear energy to an "also ran" status stands out in a chapter devoted almost entirely to a review of the economic considerations. The reason is summed up thus:

When the acquisition of reactors was discussed, the questions raised were mostly financial ones, thus shifting the discussion from the central question, "Should a nuclear reactor be acquired and put into operation?" to the question, "How can a nuclear reactor be acquired under the best financing terms?"

Taken all in all, the state comptroller's report implies that the advocates of a nuclear power plant still need to prove their case.



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Yiddish actor Bernardi

LOS ANGELES. — Veteran actor Hershel Bernardi, who started his career as a three-month-old on the Yiddish stage, died here over the weekend of a heart attack at the age of 62.

Bernardi scored his greatest theatrical success in *Fiddler on the Roof*.

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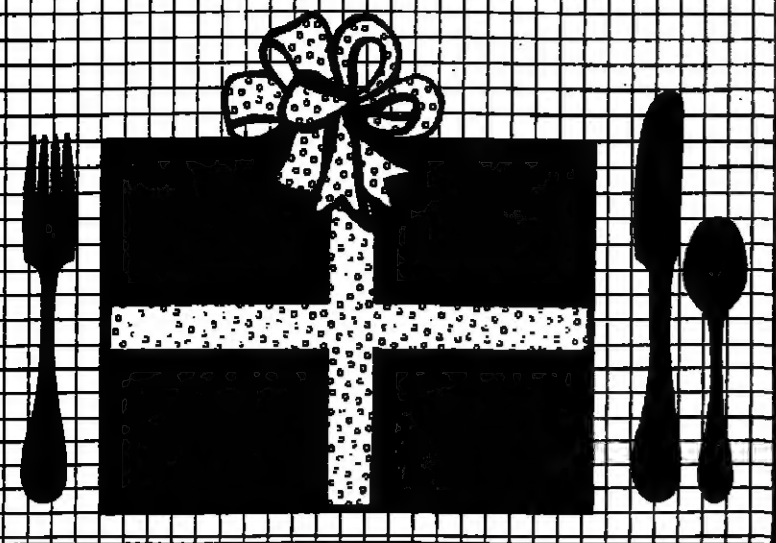
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Chernobyl danger over,
Soviet scientist assures

MOSCOW (Reuters). - The scientists heading the clean-up of the Chernobyl area said that yesterday marked a turning point in the aftermath of the nuclear disaster and all danger from the damaged civilian plant Chernobyl was finally over.

"Theoretically, until today, there existed the possibility of a catastrophe because a large amount of fuel and reactor graphite remained in an overheated condition. Now that possibility is no more," Yevgeny Velikhov, vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said in a statement.

The statement did not make clear, however, whether the leakage had stopped.

The Soviet government Saturday reported a sharp drop in radiation escaping from the power station's fourth reactor, which has been smothered in sand and other protective materials since the accident on April 26.

Velikhov, quoted by Tass news agency, said the clean-up operation was now advancing to a new phase. Experiments and measurements were being carried out to identify the most contaminated places. Radioactive substances were being encapsulated to ensure that radioactivity did not penetrate into ground water, he added.

Builders, working in "difficult conditions of high radioactivity," were freezing the soil around the reactor and burying it in concrete.

When the measures are completed, a decision would be taken on the resumption of work at Chernobyl, Velikhov said.

Ivan Silayev, a first deputy chairman of the presidium of the Council of Ministers, was quoted by Tass as saying, "The great catastrophes predicted in the West have not happened. Today we are sure the danger has ended, although this does not mean that our work is over."

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has yet to comment publicly on the disaster.

Meanwhile, Sweden's main radiation monitor closed this week-end for the first time since raising an alert about the accident two weeks ago.

A message left on the radiological protection institute's answering machine told Swedes that it was safe to go outdoors, and to "use water and milk without any worry," but urged them to go on washing fruit and vegetables carefully.

In Brussels, European Community (EC) officials said Italy has rejected the community's agreement Saturday to ban fresh food imports from Eastern Europe, but the 11 other EC states have decided to go ahead with the ban.

But EC Executive Commission sources said they were confident that Italy would accept the import ban at the Foreign Ministers' meeting today.

After the Chernobyl accident, Italy required importers of fresh food from both within and outside the EC to present a certificate that it was fit for human consumption. It has declined to withdraw this requirement.

Lebanon yesterday became the latest country to ban food imports from the Soviet Union and six other Eastern Bloc nations.

Seven blacks die in SA
weekend of violence

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). - Four black people were reported killed yesterday in political violence in South Africa as strife-torn Alexandra township near Johannesburg spent a second day under a tight security crackdown by troops and police.

The deaths brought to seven the number of blacks killed in unrest during the weekend.

Local security men shot dead three black youths in the Diepkloof area of Soweto, Johannesburg's black satellite city. Police said the officials had fired three rounds with their revolvers after a group of black youths stoned their vehicle.

Residents said they heard gunfire and screaming just before midnight Saturday night and saw security officials chasing youths.

An angry black crowd stoned policemen who came to take the bodies of the three youths to a mortuary. The police said they fired tear-gas into the crowd.

Nearby, a police personnel carrier collided with a bus full of black passengers who immediately attacked the police. The policemen fled as

passengers set fire to the personnel carrier and destroyed it, the police said.

In another incident, police fired tear-gas at blacks who hurled petrol bombs at one of their vehicles in the same area.

A black bus driver was burned to death in Guguletu township near Cape Town during the night when a group of blacks set fire to his bus, police said.

The police said they used firearms and teargas to disperse black rioters in several townships around the country.

An uneasy calm ruled yesterday in Alexandra, occupied before dawn Saturday by nearly 1,700 police and troops in a massive security sweep.

Armoured vehicles blocked all exits from the township and people and vehicles entering or leaving it were searched. Soldiers in combat gear and armed with rifles guarded the perimeter of the poverty-stricken township, sandwiched between some of Johannesburg's wealthiest white suburbs.

Bahai 'spy' among six
executed in Iran

TEHERAN (Reuters). - Three drug smugglers, two Afghan highway robbers and a Bahai were executed at dawn Saturday in the southeast Iranian city of Zahedan, the daily *Islamic Republic* said yesterday.

The Bahai, Pedrouz Shabrokh, was executed for "acting against the security of the Islamic Republic, spying for Israel and direct financial aid to Israel," it said.

Narcotics are an acknowledged major problem in Iran and one of those executed, Qader Shahouzehi, was charged with trading 5,399 sacks of opium.

EGYPT

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Princess Diana chats with giant Sumo wrestler Konishiki after she and Prince Charles watched the Sumo matches at Tokyo's Ryogoku Sumo Stadium yesterday.

Princess Di takes a poke
at Japanese Sumo giant

TOKYO (Reuters). - Princess Diana sampled Japanese culture yesterday, first painting the eyes on a tiny doll's head and then playfully poking the belly of a quarter-ton Sumo wrestler.

She and Prince Charles, on the first full day of their official tour of Japan, received a rapturous welcome from over 90,000 people who lined the streets to catch a glimpse of them.

Princess Diana then went barefoot to receive lessons in the gentle arts of flower-arranging and doll-making.

She later joined her husband for the sumo wrestling, sitting with him in the stadium's royal box.

Afterwards, she and Prince Charles talked animatedly with the biggest of the fighters, the 233-kg, 1.86 metre Konishiki, who hails from Hawaii.

"They were surprised by the size of Konishiki," said former grand champion Tochinishiki, now managing director of the Sumo Association. "It's no wonder. Everybody who sees him is surprised."

Police had to form human walls to keep back the surging crowds as normally-polite Japanese jostled and pushed each other to get a glimpse of the couple.

Portugal, UK mark 600-year alliance

LONDON (Reuters). - Portuguese President Mario Soares arrived in London yesterday to attend ceremonies commemorating the 600-year-old alliance between his country and Britain.

Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, will join Britain's Queen Elizabeth in a service of thanksgiving today to mark the

anniversary of the Treaty of Windsor.

The treaty was drawn up between English nobleman John of Gaunt and Portugal's King Joao I, pledging "an inviolable, eternal, solid, perpetual and true league of friendship, alliance and union." It was signed by the Portuguese monarch and King Richard II.

8 electrocuted in Bangkok's worst floods

BANGKOK (Reuters). - Eight people were electrocuted in the past two days as Bangkok was hit by the worst floods in its history, police said.

Floods paralysed large areas of Bangkok on Friday and Saturday after 279 mm. of rain fell on the city in 24 hours.

SPORTS

Israel v Belgium

Post Sports Staff
Israel will have a home tie next month in the second round of this year's European zone Davis Cup after Belgium yesterday completed a 4-1 victory over Ireland. Israel had a bye in the opening round.

In Rome national tennis champion Shlomo Glickstein was beaten by Romania's talented Florin Seguraru in the opening qualifying round of the Italian Open. Andrei Mandel, who has soared high in the world rankings, is an automatic inclusion in the full 64-man draw.

At the tournament of champions in New York there was a major upset when Yannick Noah handed Ivan Lendl one of his rare defeats. The Frenchman won competently 6-3, 7-5 and meets a player on the come-back trail Guillermo Vilas who put out fellow Argentinian Martin Jaite in the other semi final.

Noah late last night beat Vilas 7-6, 6-0 to win the \$615,000 event.

Kareem outplays
Houston's tower

INGLEWOOD (AP). - Kareem Abdul-Jabbar scored 31 points to lead the defending NBA champions, the Los Angeles Lakers, to a 119-107 victory over the Houston Rockets in the opener of the Western Conference finals.

Abdul-Jabbar, 39, defended most of the time by 7-foot-4 Ralph Sampson, went over and around his younger foe with relative ease as the Lakers beat the Rockets for the ninth time in 11 games between the teams in the past two seasons.

Good boxing win

Israel's Yehuda Ben Haim had a convincing points victory over Japan's Kimiaki Takami in the opening round of the World Amateur Boxing Championships in Reno, Nevada.

Ben Haim, who fights in the light flyweight (48 kilo) division won by a 4-1 count from the judges.

Flames ahead

CALGARY (AP). - Dan Quinn scored twice in less than two minutes midway through the second period and Mike Eaves scored a key goal in the third to lead Calgary to a 4-2 victory over St. Louis Blues to give the Flames a 3-2 lead in the National Hockey League's Campbell Conference final.

Game 6 of the best-of-7 Stanley Cup semifinal series is tonight in St. Louis. The winners play Montreal for the title.

Baseball: Saturday

National League New York 5, Cincinnati 1; Chicago 6, San Diego 3; Montreal 3, Los Angeles 2; 11 innings; Houston 6, Pittsburgh 3; Atlanta 3, Philadelphia 1; St. Louis 4, San Francisco 3.

American League Chicago 4, Cleveland 0, 11 innings; Boston 4, Oakland 2, 10 innings; Baltimore 5, Kansas City 2; New York 4, Texas 3; Minnesota 12, Detroit 7; Seattle 8, Toronto 7, 10 innings; Milwaukee 4, California 2.

RUGBY: The SA Springboks defeated the visiting New Zealand rebel side, the Cavaliers, in the first unofficial Test at Newlands 21-15.

Motor Racing: Frenchman Alain Prost drove his McLaren to victory in the Monaco Grand Prix yesterday.

SOCCER: Canada, rank outsiders for the World Cup finals in Mexico, beat Wales 2-4.

Information Centre
Independence Day Events CommitteeIndependence Day 5746
38th Anniversary of the State of Israel
Main Ceremonies and EventsEve of Independence Day
Tuesday, May 13

12 noon
Jerusalem, Knesset Building, reception for the 12 persons who will light the torches, by Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel, and presentation to them of the 5746 Independence Day Coin.
6:45 p.m.
Jerusalem, Mt. Herzl, lighting the torches, to mark the end of Remembrance Day and the opening of the Independence Day celebrations, with the participation of Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel.
8:00 p.m.
Eilat, public visits to naval base
8:30 p.m.
President Chaim Herzog will broadcast his Independence Day message, on radio and television.
Prime Minister Shimon Peres will broadcast his Independence Day message, on radio and television.
8:30 p.m.
Opening of Independence Day celebrations throughout the country.
9:00 p.m.
Tel Grove, festive evening for visitors to Hermon Concertavea

Independence Day
Wednesday, May 14

8:00 a.m.
8:00 p.m.
8:00 a.m.-midnight
9:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.
9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.
9:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
9:00 a.m.
10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.
11:00 a.m.
12 noon
2:00 p.m.
4:30 p.m.
5:00 p.m.
8:00 p.m.

Festive prayers at synagogues throughout the country.

Opening of Sherutim on Army Radio programme

Independence Day celebrations and events in all local authority areas: processions of dancers, community singing and dancing, drama presentations, exhibitions, stage entertainment, festivals, sports contests, quizzes, etc.

The Knesset opens its doors in honour of Independence Day on the theme of "Democracy in Israel". On exhibit in the Knesset Building, the original copy of the Independence Scroll, a huge photograph of the Scroll signing ceremony, photographs of Scroll signatories and the voice of David Ben-Gurion proclaiming the establishment of the State.

Rafael (Israel Armament Development Industry) exhibition at Safad (details in the afternoon press on Tuesday, May 13, 1986).

Min. of Defence plants, IDF camps and IDF equipment compounds open for visits by the public (details in the afternoon press on Tuesday, May 13, 1986).

Visits to industrial plants, museums, beginning of tours at sites of first settlements, popular sports at local authorities, visits to camp sites, national parks, nature reserves and sites of Nature Protection Society and Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael sites throughout the country.

Givat Ram, Jerusalem, The Hebrew University opens its doors to the public (details in the afternoon press on Tuesday, May 13, 1986).

Jerusalem, President's Residence, reception for outstanding soldiers.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem Theatre, World Jewish Youth Bible Quiz, with the participation of Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel, and Deputy Prime Minister, Yitzhak Navon, Minister of Education and Culture

Bikat Man, Hermon, Concertavea at the Hermon, by Young Philharmonic and instrumentalists Israel Philharmonic and Israel Chamber Orchestra (details in afternoon press on Tuesday, May 13, 1986)

Jerusalem, Yeshurun Central Synagogue, Independence Day cantorial concert with the participation of cantors from Israel and abroad. Admission free.

Jerusalem, President's Residence, reception for the diplomatic corps.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem Theatre, distribution of Israel Prizes, in the presence of the President, Chaim Herzog, and with the participation of Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel, and Deputy Prime Minister Yitzhak Navon, Minister of Education and Culture.

The Information Centre wishes all the citizens of Israel a happy, enjoyable Independence Day

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WEEKLY REVIEW

Second Wind

Suddenly, The Tax Bill Is Picking Up Speed

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

LESS than two weeks ago, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader, proclaimed that tax revision legislation was "hanging by a thread." Now, following one of the most surprising legislative turnabouts in years, Mr. Dole and other leading senators and representatives from both parties believe that the biggest changes in the Federal income tax law since World War II will almost certainly be enacted before the end of the year.

The crucial advance came early Wednesday, when the Senate Finance Committee voted unanimously to approve a bill that would sharply lower tax rates and abolish dozens of special breaks for businesses and individuals. After months of contentious debate, in December the House of Representatives passed a measure similar in principle, though different in important respects.

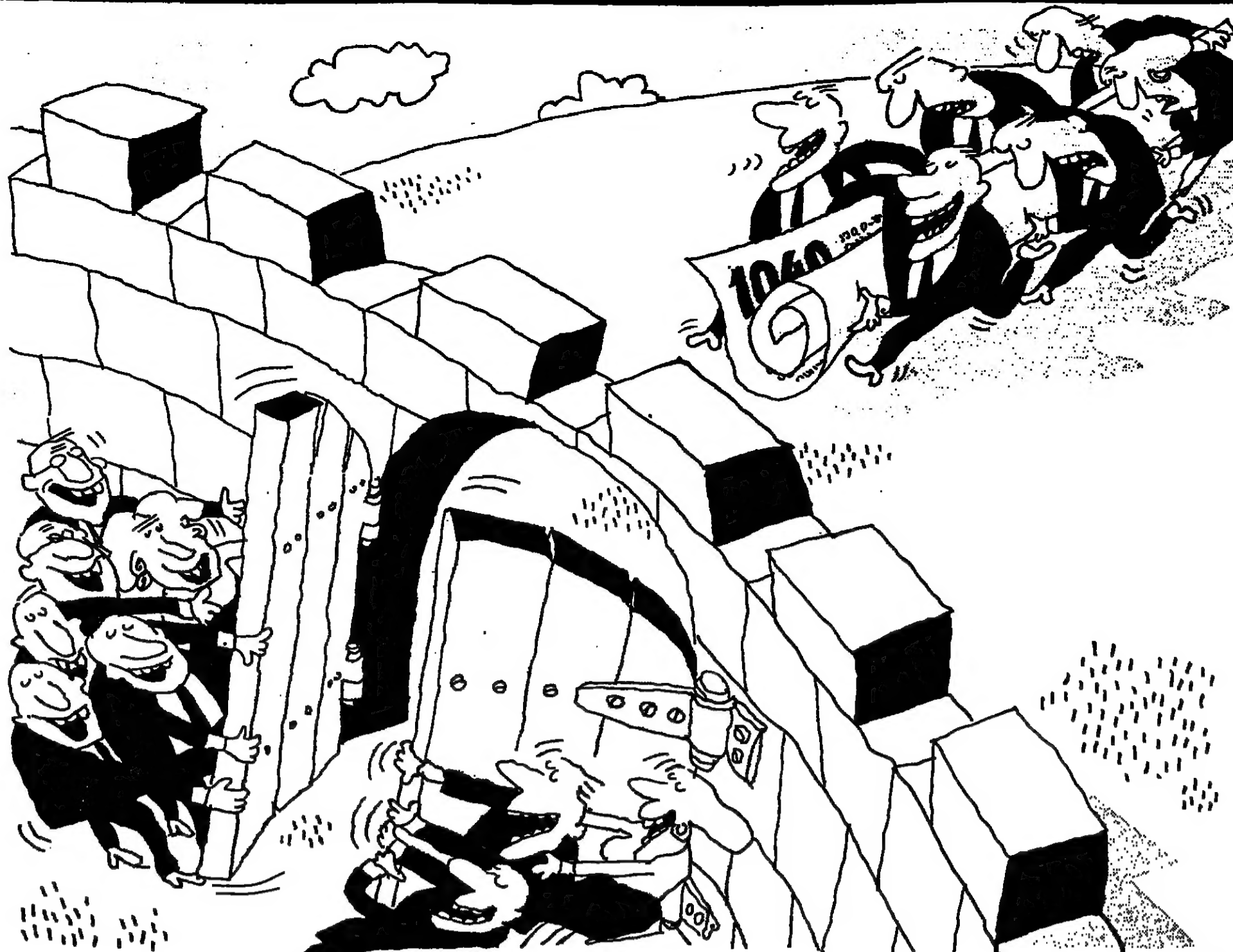
The bills would affect the taxes paid by almost every household and company in America. Rarely has Congress advanced such a sweeping change.

In the Senate committee's version, most people would be taxed at a rate of 15 percent, and the top tax rate, now 50 percent for individuals and 46 percent for corporations, would be reduced to 27 percent and 33 percent respectively. Deductions would be permitted for mortgage interest payments on as many as two homes, state and local income and property taxes and charitable contributions for taxpayers who itemize. But deductions for Individual Retirement Accounts, state sales taxes, union dues and interest payments on other than mortgage loans would be repealed or sharply restricted.

Capital gains would be taxed at the same rate as other income. Rich people would no longer be able to shelter their income by investing in office buildings or cattle-feed syndicates, and many of them would owe higher taxes. But most Americans would have somewhat lower tax bills, and millions of poor people would be removed from the rolls.

Business taxes would be raised by \$100 billion over five years. That increase would fall primarily on industries that, because of various tax preferences, now pay little or nothing. A stiff minimum tax would prevent corporations from escaping taxation altogether. But businesses that now make little use of tax breaks—grocery stores and electronics companies, for instance—would end up with lower taxes.

President Reagan, who has put what he calls tax reform at the top of his legislative agenda for his second



term, was clearly pleased. In Tokyo for the international economic meeting, he did not try to influence senators while the committee was going through its painstaking negotiations. But on his first morning back home, according to his spokesman, the President telephoned Senator Bob Packwood, the Finance Committee chairman, to congratulate the Oregon Republican for having "moved us one giant step further down the road toward meaningful, historic tax reform," and he praised the measure in his weekly radio address yesterday.

One school of thought holds that the absence of the President and his staff was advantageous to Senator Packwood, whose tax package necessarily involved a series of tradeoffs. Had they been in town, according to this view, his advisers and maybe even the President himself might have blown up the package as a whole by objecting to various parts of it as it was being assembled.

Similarly, the President's departure may have contributed to Congressional movement on the Federal budget. Following Senate passage of a budget the previous week, after Mr. Reagan left for the Far East, the House Budget Committee last week approved, on a party-line vote, a budget cutting his military budget below this year's level and raising taxes.

Whatever the President's role, the committee's approval of the tax bill confirmed the long-held view of Reagan Administration strategists that if lawmakers were

faced with a public vote on whether to approve tax-revision legislation or retain an unpopular system, they would have no choice but to approve the bill.

The measure could still be derailed on the Senate floor next month or in a subsequent House-Senate conference. The unanimous vote of the committee belied the widespread opposition of the members to particular aspects. Not until after midnight Tuesday, when a deal was cut that would retain tax shelters for investors in oil and gas exploration, did Mr. Packwood have a majority. Once a bare majority of the committee members were aboard, the others cast their votes for the bill to make sure Mr. Packwood retained small favors for their constituents.

The Coming Fight on Preferences

Senate rules permit unlimited debate and unrestricted amendments. Senators are already drafting floor amendments that would restore full deductions for I.R.A.'s, business meals and interest payments and permit a lower rate for capital gains.

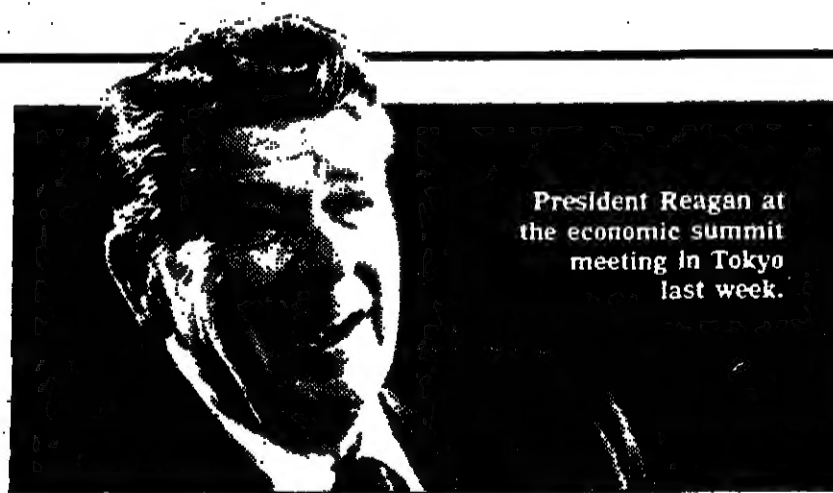
Furthermore, the myriad lobbyists who are paid handsomely to defend their clients' tax breaks will be out in force. The real estate industry, which donates millions of dollars to Congressional election campaigns each

year, believes it would be devastated by the abolition of tax shelters. Financial institutions, another powerful interest, say people will no longer be able to save for retirement if I.R.A.'s are not deductible.

But the unanimous Finance Committee vote may give senators some political cover from the lobbyists when the bill reaches the floor. That is because of all the committees of Congress, its members, Democrat and Republican, have the closest ties to the interests that benefit from tax preferences, and, as Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, put it last week: "Any bill that passes the Senate Committee on Finance, 20 to 0, has got to have very strong prospects."

The conference between the House and Senate may pose a greater problem. The Senate bill would retain specific tax breaks for oil and gas producers, banks, insurance companies and dozens of other industries, while repealing most individual deductions. The House legislation, on the other hand, would repeal most of the industry tax preferences and retain most of those enjoyed by individuals.

However, Dan Rostenkowski, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who steered the bill through the House, was among the many optimists. "The differences, should we see each other in conference, can be ironed out," the Illinois Democrat said.



President Reagan at the economic summit meeting in Tokyo last week.

Gammis-Liaison/Christian Vignard

Thinking in Unison at the Summit

THE seven major industrial democracies found much to agree upon last week at their summit in Tokyo, and they managed, as summiters will, to finesse sharp differences. The statements they produced on world politics and economics were specific, but not without carefully cut loopholes and omissions, allowing each head of state to report home that the meeting had been a victory for, variously, the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan.

In their political statement, the seven condemned Libya as a sponsor of terrorism, a stipulation demanded by the United States, Britain and Canada. The statement also called for measures against terrorists and their sponsors, including a ban on arms sales, limits on the size of diplomatic missions, improved extradition procedures, stricter immigration and visa requirements and the "closest possible" police and security agency cooperation to combat terrorism. But the statement fell short of endorsing the use of military force, such as the United States raids on Libya, and did not mention specific economic action against Libya—two things the United States would have welcomed. Japan and France were unenthusiastic about the terrorism statement, but Secretary of State George P. Shultz, said it amounted to a message for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader: "You've had it, pal."

The statement also chided the Soviet Union for delaying the release

of information on the nuclear accident in the Ukraine; praised the United States for its "negotiating efforts" on arms control, and called on Moscow to "negotiate positively."

The economic agreements were broad and ambitious, but, finally, statements of intention that were not binding and not enforceable, except by self-discipline. They prescribed how the seven countries should cooperate to avoid disruption in any of their economies. The aim of the principal agreement was to reduce sharp currency variations through the newly formed Group of Seven, the chief financial officials of each of the summit nations, who are to meet at least once a year. Instead of trying to deal with currency fluctuation through governmental buying and selling, the group is to monitor the basic economic policy and performance of each country—inflation, interest rates, growth, unemployment, deficits, trade balance—and recommend change when the actions of one country threaten to disrupt the others. (Managing the float, page 2.)

On trade restrictions, and particularly those affecting agriculture, the seven agreed there were problems but set no date for dealing with them. In Japan, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone came under criticism because of the summit's failure to meet his nation's concerns, notably by acting to stem the rise of the yen's value against the dollar. Partly as a result, his plan to call elections soon for both houses of parliament was jeopardized.

The Tragically Tardy Response to Chernobyl

A Worst Case That Isn't a Scenario

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

THE scene at Kiev Station in Moscow each morning last week told more about the Chernobyl nuclear accident than most of the Government's pronouncements since the explosion April 26. Hundreds of women and children streamed out of trains from the Ukrainian capital, which is only 70 miles from the damaged reactor.

The full impact of Chernobyl was coming home. The Soviet Union seemed finally to understand the magnitude of a nuclear accident that Western experts said fulfilled many of their worst-case expectations for the breakdown of a reactor in a populated area. As more became known about the accident and its aftermath, it was apparent that the highly centralized Soviet system was in some ways ill-suited to cope with such a disaster.

The near blackout on information, so striking in the first week, was lifted somewhat with increased coverage in the press, a tightly controlled news conference, a trip to the Kiev area by a press group that included a Western reporter and a visit to Chernobyl by officials from the International Atomic Energy Agency, a United Nations organization based in Vienna. The change, in keeping with Mikhail S. Gorbachev's repeated appeals for greater openness, seemed partly the result of increased data available to Soviet officials. But it also suggested that the Kremlin was smarting from the international outrage over its initial failure to report the accident for nearly three days.

The official death toll remained at two, as originally reported by Moscow. About 30 plant workers and firemen exposed to potentially lethal doses of radiation immediately after the accident faced an uncertain future in Moscow Hospital No. 6, and additional victims were hospitalized with radiation-related problems. More than 80,000 people living near the power station were evacuated, but it became clear that, inexplicably, the evacuation did not begin until 36 hours after the accident, and some residents did not leave until May 6.

Kiev, with a population of 2.5 million the third largest city in the Soviet Union, was no longer the carefree metropolis depicted on television in the first days after the explosion. The small group of correspondents permitted to visit the city reported no panic, and Soviet officials insisted radiation levels were safe,



Deputy Prime Minister Boris Y. Shcherbina, head of commission investigating Chernobyl accident, at news conference last week.

but residents were instructed to keep windows closed, not to eat salad and to wash their hair and hands frequently.

At the power station itself, according to Morris Rosen, an American physicist who heads the safety department of the International Atomic Energy Agency, radioactive emissions were decreasing and the fire in the reactor's graphite core was out. (American technical experts believed the fire was still burning, however.) Mr. Rosen reported that workers were struggling to entomb the damaged core in concrete. That is considered the least perilous way of sealing off the mass of overheated uranium fuel and graphite that scientists said would emit radiation for years.

Although no one could argue with Soviet offi-

cials when they said the accident presented problems no country had ever faced, it seemed equally clear that the authorities had done little if any planning to deal with a nuclear accident and had misread the danger when explosions ripped through the No. 4 unit at Chernobyl. Boris Y. Shcherbina, a Deputy Prime Minister and head of a Government commission investigating the disaster, said at a news conference that local officials initially underestimated the scope of the accident.

The handling of the disaster underscored a Gorbachev refrain—that the Soviet bureaucracy is unwieldy and fragmented and discourages crisp decision-making. Soviet specialists in the West have said that a layered bureaucracy represents one of the biggest obstacles to Mr. Gorbachev's campaign for economic revival and streamlined Government.

Budgeting a Bureaucracy

Some of the problems would be familiar in any bureaucracy: inertia, inflexible procedures, excessive paperwork and officials afraid of being second-guessed. But the Soviet system suffers from peculiarly Communist disabilities. Decades of control from the center and the dominant role of the party have numbed regional and local authorities. The incentives for individual initiative are fewer and the price for error greater than in the West. In addition, the Soviet penchant for secrecy and collective action deprives officials of information needed to make fast decisions and forces endless rounds of consultation.

In the case of Chernobyl, reactions were also hampered by the absence of safety precautions and rescue plans that nuclear power plant operators and regulators in the West have adopted largely in response to pressure from the public. "There's no anti-nuke movement here to keep the authorities honest and alert because there's no dissent," one diplomat said.

Despite the problems, Western experts gave the Russians credit for avoiding panic during the evacuation and for finding adequate housing, clothing and food for the people being moved. Although Mr. Rosen and Hans Blix, the Swedish head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said they had not been given complete data about radioactive emissions, they reported that Moscow had agreed to share future measurements with the agency and the outside world. Daily readings from Soviet stations will be relayed to nuclear regulatory agencies in various countries, Mr. Rosen said, but will not be made public.

The World



King Hussein of Jordan (left) greeting President Hafez al-Assad of Syria.

Congress Balks At Sale of Missiles To Saudi Arabia

The United States has sold billions of dollars worth of weapons to Saudi Arabia over the years, but last week Congress said no to the latest sale — advanced missiles valued at \$354 million. The White House said President Reagan would veto the stop order, contending that it "undermined U.S. interests and policies throughout the Middle East."

Opponents of the sale portrayed the Saudis as uncertain allies who criticized the United States raid on Libya, helped finance the Palestine Liberation Organization and obstructed the American-sponsored Israeli-Arab peace process.

Donald T. Regan, the White House chief of staff, predicted that the Administration would change enough minds in the Senate at least, to sustain a veto. The lopsided majorities, 73 to 22 in the Senate and 356 to 62 in the House, surpassed the two-thirds margin for overturning a veto. But last week's debate dwelled on terrorism, which many members of Congress may find easier to vote against than Mr. Reagan, who was expected to lobby strenuously before the next vote.

On the antiterrorist front, the State Department called on Syria to expel the Abu Nidal organization — which has also been linked to Libya and the December attacks on airports in Rome and Vienna — from Syrian-controlled territory. And a Jordanian arrested in West Germany accused Syria of playing a role in the bombing of a German-Arab Friendship Society in Berlin.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's Defense Minister, said Syria had organized the attempt in London last month to blow up an El Al airliner. Syria vigorously denied both accusations but refused to waive the diplomatic immunity of three Syrians the British police wanted to question. Yesterday, Britain expelled them. Syria's President, Hafez al-Assad, seeking new friends, visited Jordan for the first time in six years.

In Israel, Prime Minister Shimon Peres denied American news reports that his country and Syria were preparing to go to war.

Shultz Praises an Imperfect Seoul

Reagan Administration officials say the best way to nudge South Korea toward democracy is to encourage President Chun Doo Hwan and avoid angering his Government. Accordingly, Secretary of State George P. Shultz praised Mr. Chun during a 24-hour visit last week and steered clear of the country's most prominent civilian politicians, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam.

The two Kim rejected an invitation to join a group meeting with Gaston Sigur, an Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Shultz breakfasted with 11 public figures, including Lee Min Woo, the leader of the main opposition party, who is secondary to the Kim in Korean political circles.

Praising South Korea's "economic miracle" and the professionalism of its military, Mr. Shultz dismissed suggestions that Mr. Chun might be heading the way of the Philippine President, Ferdinand E. Marcos, who was forced from office in February.

After meeting the Korean President, the Secretary reiterated his confidence that Mr. Chun will step down in 1988 as promised. But opposition leaders argued that unless they can replace the indirect system of selecting the President with direct popular elections, Mr. Chun may arrange to be succeeded by another military man. Yesterday, after an opposition rally to demand direct elections, radical youths threw stones and bottles at the police, injuring 20 police officers.

Waldheim Leads In Austrian Vote

Kurt Waldheim did not set out to run on his war record, but there seemed little doubt last week that he carried the former United Nations Secretary General a step closer to Austria's presidency. Mr. Waldheim captured 49.6 percent of Sunday's

vote to 43.7 percent for his Socialist opponent, Kurt Steyrer. The rest was split between Austria's emerging ecology movement and the far right. Mr. Waldheim is regarded as the odds-on favorite in a runoff against Mr. Steyrer on June 8.

"It was certainly not pleasant, as you can imagine," Mr. Waldheim said about accusations from the World Jewish Congress and others that he had lied about his service with the Nazis in Greece and the Balkans in World War II. "But it has probably had the opposite effect from what those who started it expected that it would have."

The 67-year-old diplomat was running an unexciting campaign until charges emerged that he had hidden his role as a staff officer under Gen. Alexander Löhr, who was executed in Yugoslavia for war crimes. Mr. Waldheim seemed more feisty after that, crisscrossing the country to defend himself as a "decent soldier" who was only doing his "duty." Among many Austrians, the accusations, evidently stirred resentment against foreign meddling and, some feared, may have inspired an anti-Semitic backlash.

A Duvalier Aide Goes on Trial

As the court martial of Col. Samuel Jérémie got underway in a back room of the main police headquarters in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, there was a feeling that everyone was trying to find his way.

The Colonel, an especially close aide to the country's exiled former President, Jean-Claude Duvalier, is accused of being responsible for killing four people and wounding five others in two incidents 18 months apart. Two of the victims were killed while they were in a crowd calling for the ouster of Mr. Duvalier, who fled the country Feb. 7. The colonel, who could be sentenced to 25 years in prison, has pleaded not guilty.

The provisional Government of Lieut. Gen. Henri Namphy said this was the first in a series of public criminal trials involving former officials. Until now, officials of the Duvalier dynasty, which ruled Haiti for 29 years, had never been prosecuted for the brutality and terrorism they used to control the people. The Government says it is working on 20 cases involving former Duvalier aides.

Time Runs Out for Oil Units in Libya

The companies — Amerasia Hess, Conoco, W. R. Grace, Marathon and Occidental Petroleum — had valued their tangible and intangible assets behind the lines in Libya at \$2 billion, according to Congressional sources. The Treasury Department put the figure at "more than \$1 billion." But whatever the value once was, it is far less since the Reagan Administration, as part of its push at the Tokyo summit for stronger sanctions against Libya, decided to order the oil producers out of that country by June 30.

The companies, which ship about 500,000 barrels of Libyan crude to their European refineries daily, were exempted from the embargo the United States declared against Libya after the airport attacks at Rome and Vienna. The exception was designed to give them time to sell their equipment and interests. That was better, the reasoning went, than giving Libya the windfall that would have resulted from the companies' sudden departure. In the meantime, the five producers were ordered to deposit their Libyan oil revenues in special escrow accounts to be released when the sales were completed.

The companies had hoped to sell their equipment to European concerns, but the Administration, which wanted the Europeans to join the embargo, forbade it. That essentially limited potential purchasers to Libyans, who are now in a position to pick up the assets for fire-sale prices. The companies willing to respond to the reports last week said they would abide by the new timetable, but they stressed that any losses they suffered would not make much difference to overall profits.

Richard Levine,
James F. Clarity
and Milt Freudenheim

Q & A: Coordinating Economies

The Float, and How to Manage It

By PETER T. KILBORN

THE leaders of the seven largest industrial democracies agreed at the economic summit here last week to set up a system that would help them manage a sloppy world economy. Following are questions and answers about the plan, which its authors, Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d and Deputy Secretary Richard G. Darman, call "international economic policy coordination."

Question. What is "policy coordination?"
Answer. It means that the seven summit countries — the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, Canada and Italy — will try to coordinate their domestic economic policies to attain steady growth with a minimum of inflation. If they succeed, the power of their combined economies is such that they could pull the rest of the world with them.

Q. Does that mean the seven would adopt the same economic policies, the same tax systems and priorities in government spending, or that they would all perform the same way, with the same interest rates and inflation rates and so on?

A. No. They would have compatible economic policies, not the same ones. There is room in this system for a great variety of priorities. They just have to be aimed at the common goal, growth with low inflation.

Q. Have nations ever attempted this before?
A. No. In 1944, at the World Monetary Conference in Bretton Woods, N. H., the objective was also healthy growth, but the system involved a rigid and automatic mechanism to control currencies, and through them economies. Exchange rates were "fixed." The dollar was tied to gold, and other currencies were tied to the dollar. The value of the British pound was set at \$2.80.

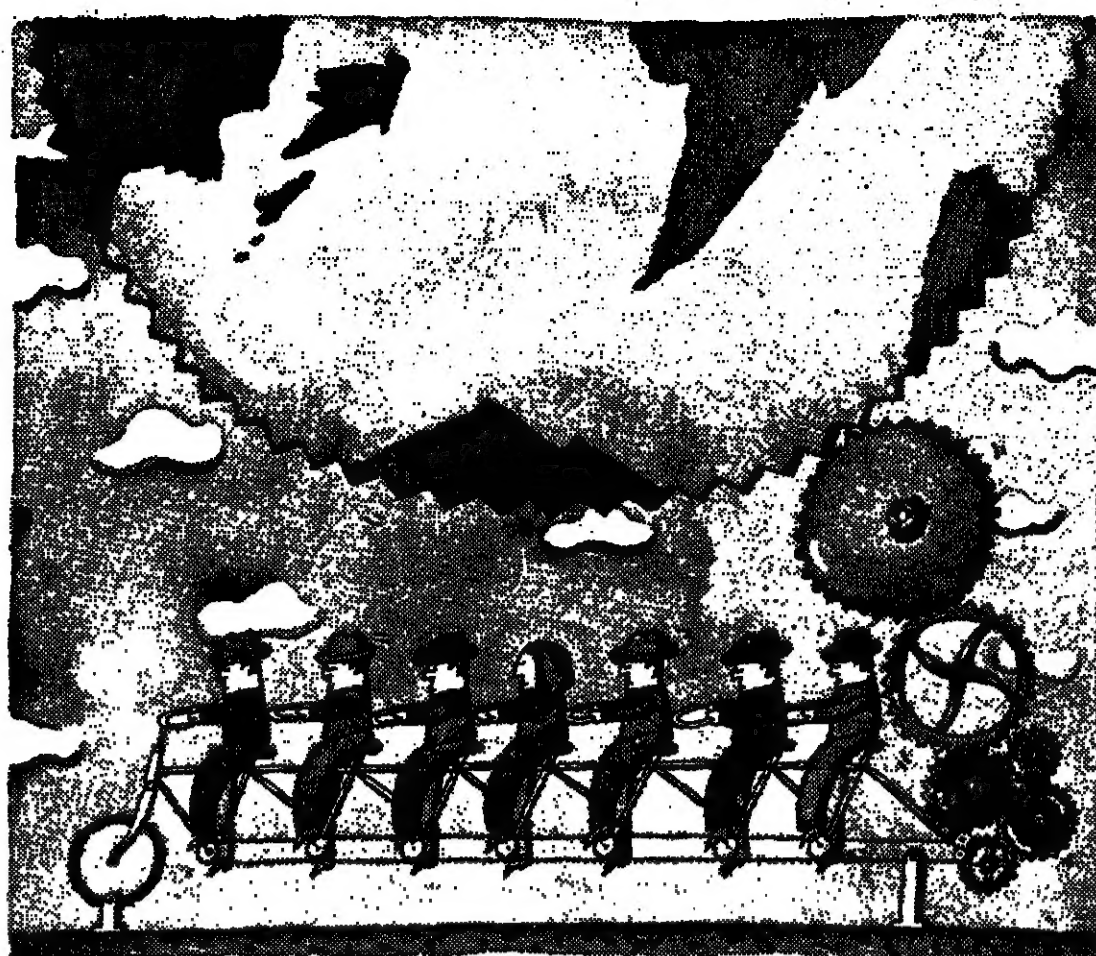
Q. What was wrong with that?
A. For about 20 years, nothing. But in the mid-60's, inflation started running faster in some countries than in others. Nations found themselves fixing and refixing exchange rates to accommodate inflation. They abandoned fixed rates in the 1970's and adopted "floating" rates.

Q. What went wrong with that arrangement?
A. Floating rates worked quite well for a while. But in the last four or five years, the exchange rates of some currencies became erratic. The great rise of the dollar until last year and now, the rise of the Japanese yen, have distressed the American and Japanese Governments.

Q. How does the new system compare with the other two?

A. It is a compromise system that the Treasury calls "managed floating," part of a broader yet less rigid method of regulation. The rates are not fixed, but their variation is to be limited by adjusting the basic mechanics of the economy.

Q. Some economies, such as Germany's and



Japan's, are very sound. Why would they want to coordinate policies with others?

A. Because such countries might be even stronger. If one nation falls into a recession, it can pull others down because its consumers and businesses stop buying imported goods.

Q. But each of these countries has trouble enough developing its domestic economic policies. Why do they think they can work any better with each other?

A. They have developed a tool called "multilateral surveillance." At least once a year, ranking financial officials will meet and talk about their national economies. Each country will submit a forecast of how it expects its economy to perform.

Then, if one nation's economy departs from the forecast — if its interest rates or budget deficit or currency exchange rate go out of line with expectations — all the countries will consult and the errant country will attempt to adjust itself.

Q. But would such a system prevent the recent problems of the dollar and the yen, for example, or the sharp rise in interest rates of the late 70's and early 80's or the American budget and trade deficits?

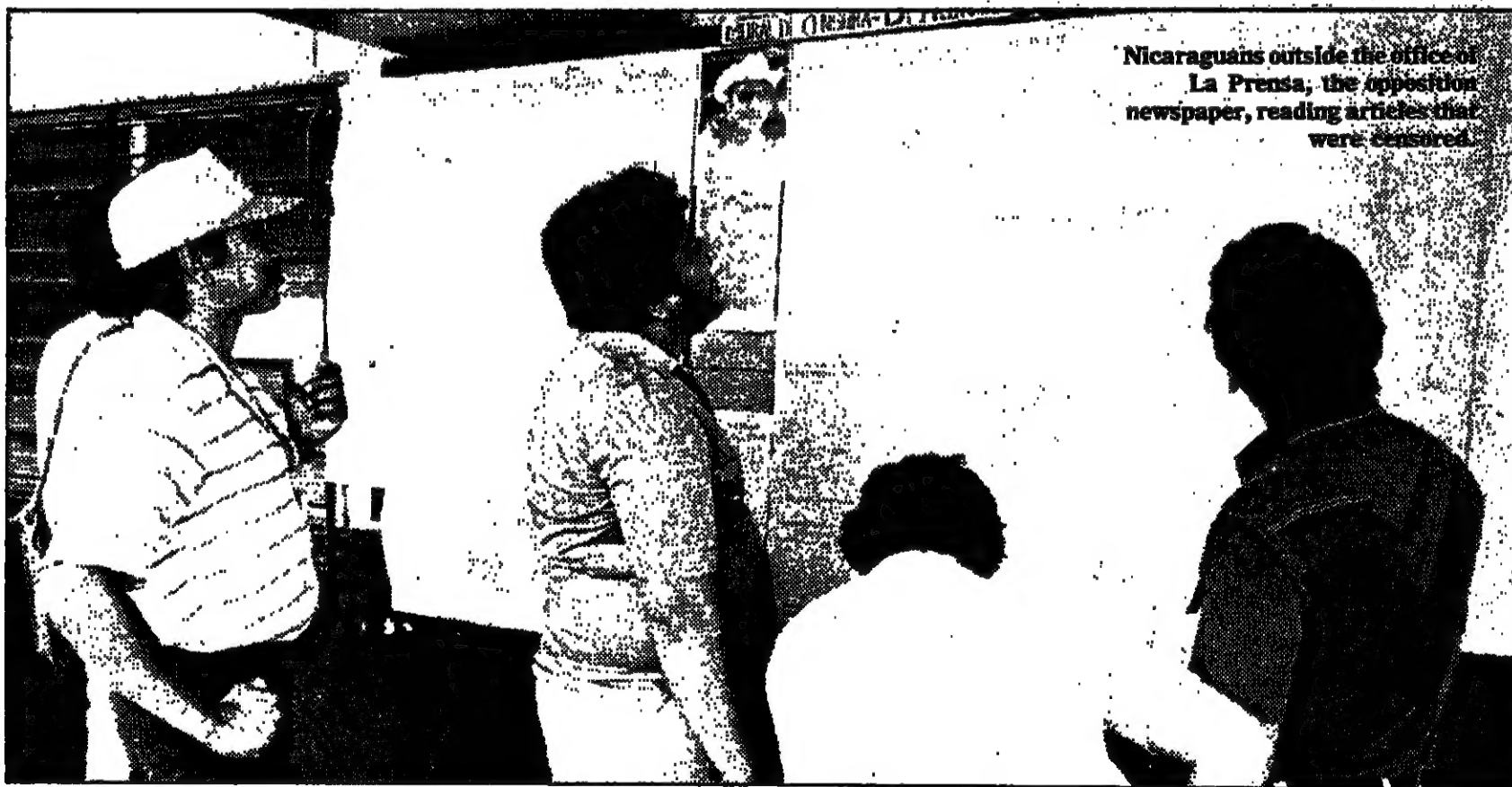
A. Probably not completely. But the better the system worked, the sooner it would catch the problems. That is the purpose of the consultations.

Q. What if a country steps out of line for domestic political reasons, cutting taxes so the government can win re-election, for example? Wouldn't the United States simply ignore the admonitions of other countries in such circumstances?

A. The United States certainly did ignore admonitions from the moment President Reagan took office and the budget deficit started growing. But, the seven nations are betting that surveillance will involve some political pressure that might offset domestic partisan concerns. One government will have to answer to the others if its economy goes awry. The Reagan Administration says these international pressures can be strengthened with a technique called "enhanced surveillance."

Q. How does that work?
A. Some of the information a nation submits to its fellows might be made public. This could persuade the country to stick to its economic plans. But, as public disclosure is sensitive, the seven have yet to decide how it would be done.

Debate on a Constitution Unsettles the Sandinistas



Nicaraguans outside the office of La Prensa, the opposition newspaper, reading articles that were censured.

The New York Times/Roberta Lichten

Nicaragua Tries to Put It in Writing

By STEPHEN KINZER

SINCE taking power after an armed insurrection in 1979, the Sandinistas have adopted various trappings of parliamentary democracy. They have established an ostensibly independent judicial system, created a National Assembly and held a presidential election. Although these steps did not alter the fundamentals of Sandinista rule, they offered a measure of popular participation and won compliments from some West Europeans and Americans.

Other foreigners and some Nicaraguans, however, see a contradiction between the Sandinistas' stated desire for mass participation in decision-making and the fact that the nine-man Sandinista National Directorate considers itself the people's "vanguard," with the right to make final policy decisions.

This contradiction has been accentuated as the Sandinistas seek to write a Constitution to replace the series of decrees under which they have ruled. The Government had hoped this process would help unify Nicaraguans; instead, it has spawned an unexpectedly troublesome debate.

Several political parties have insisted that the new Constitution include points that make the Sandinistas uneasy. Rafael Cordova Rivas, a former junta member who heads a faction of the Conservative Party friendly to the Government, said his group would not participate in the constitutional debate unless the Sandinistas agreed to an introductory clause that invokes divine protection and a provision allowing conscientious objection to military service, which the Government has rejected in the past.

Others have called for fundamental changes in

the nature of the Sandinista army, which they say functions as the armed branch of a political party rather than as a national military force.

A member of the National Assembly, Enrique Sotelo Borgen, said that Nicaraguans were not interested in the constitutional process at all "because they are worried about food shortages, low agricultural production, transport problems and inflation."

The leader of the Independent Liberal Party, Virgilio Godoy Reyes, questioned the entire idea of public discussion of a Constitution, saying his party would refuse to participate. "There can be no freedom of expression regarding the Constitution while a state of emergency is in effect," he said. La Prensa, the opposition newspaper, is subject to Government censorship.

The 'Vanguard' Issue

A leader of the Popular Social Christian Party, Luis Humberto Guzmán, has urged that the constitution eliminate the Sandinistas' status as the Nicaraguan "vanguard," which is central to their ideology.

He said the "vanguard" concept, which the Sandinistas believe gives them an inherent right to rule, "characterizes them as a group of visionaries with magical abilities to direct a society of inept and ignorant people unable to make their own decisions."

A leading Sandinista commentator, Onofre Guevara, rejected Mr. Guzmán's argument, asserting that the Sandinistas keep themselves in power because they are "the only force able to make the revolutionary social transformations that are under way here."

In any event, opposition parties have joined in the demand that any Constitution be submitted to a national plebiscite. The Government plans to hold a series of open meetings around the country

at which citizens would be able to suggest provisions. The meetings were to have begun in February, but as debate intensified the Government put them off until April.

No meetings have yet taken place, however, and the Sandinistas said last week that the first will be held later this month. They called on "all political parties and forces in the country to join patriotically in the process of constitutional dialogue."

Opposition leaders immediately reiterated their objections. Several complained that they had still received no response to a proposal that they sent to the Government in January.

The proposal urged "the immediate suspension of hostilities between Government and opposition armed forces as a preliminary step toward a definitive peace agreement."

The proposal, which was signed by six non-Sandinista political parties, also called on the Government to decree a general amnesty, lift the state of emergency and convene new elections.

The entire process has thus come to reflect the difficulties the Sandinistas face as they work to blend their Marxist convictions with other ideologies. They regularly seek popular participation and urge citizens to express themselves. Yet such debates are inevitably circumscribed because no proposal is accepted that transcends the boundaries of Sandinista thought or offers alternatives that could threaten the permanence of Sandinista power.

In the coming weeks, as Sandinista leaders ponder how to handle the irritating problems that have arisen in the constitutional debate, they will once again have to decide how to placate opposition parties, whose continued cooperation is vital to their international image, without surrendering their own freedom to rule Nicaragua as they see fit.

Gandhi Tries to Play Peacemaker

A Region Has Difficulty Staying on Speaking Terms

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

AT a meeting of leaders of South Asian nations in December, President Junius R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka declared dramatically that hopes for peace in the region rested on the shoulders of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. "He must not fail us," Mr. Jayewardene said. "He cannot. Our duty is to help him to the utmost."

But in the months since, Mr. Gandhi's efforts to be a "good neighbor" to the countries surrounding India have led to disappointment. India's mediation between the Sri Lanka Government and Tamil separatist guerrillas stalled amid charges of bad faith on all sides. Last week, the situation deteriorated further as Government officials blamed Tamil guerrillas for an explosion that destroyed an Air Lanka plane at Colombo airport Saturday, killing 16 passengers, and a blast that caused major damage at the city's Central Telegraph Office Wednesday, killing at least 11 people.

Moreover, talks between India and Pakistan are sputtering. "We made some progress, and then somewhere along the line got bogged down," A. P. Venkateswaran, the Indian Foreign Secretary, acknowledges.

Elsewhere in the region, there is more talk among diplomats about mutual problems, but solutions have rarely been forthcoming. Gunfire still erupts occasionally on India's border with Bangladesh; India's plans to expel hundreds of thousands of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants continue to infuriate that country. And despite talks during the last year, India and China have not resolved a longstanding border dispute.

Developments in Pakistan and Sri Lanka are India's most pressing concerns. Both countries have turned to the West for security assistance. American warships now make routine recreational stops at Sri Lankan and Pakistani ports, and Pakistan has stepped up aid to Sri Lanka — prompting Indian officials to warn of a "nexus" of influence that could undermine attempts to maintain what New Delhi calls a "neutral zone of peace" in the Indian Ocean. The situation is "disconcerting," Mr. Venkateswaran said, although not a threat to security.

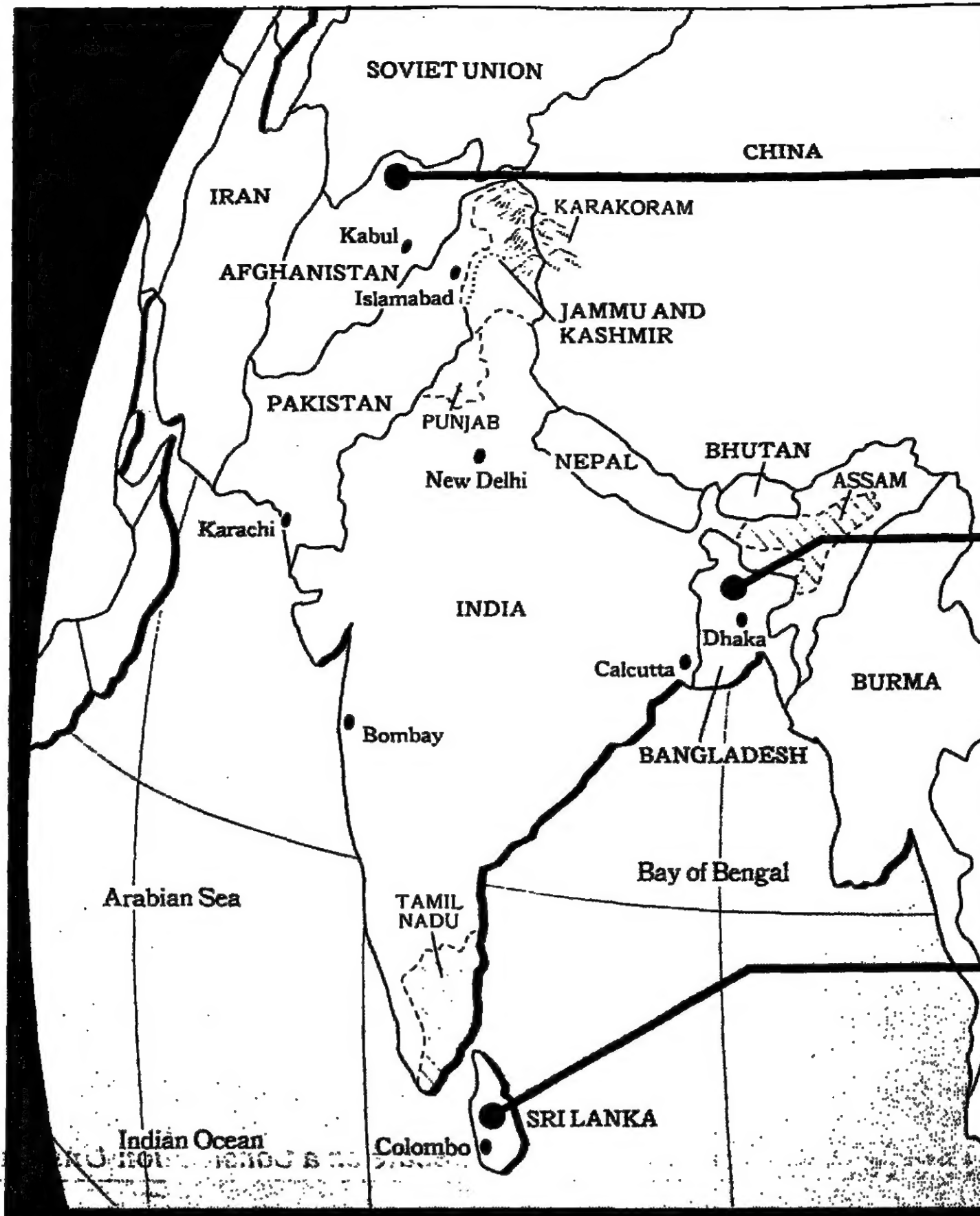
The Tamil guerrillas seek an independent nation in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, and India has sought a compromise that would offer the Tamils increased autonomy. Earlier this year, however, India withdrew, charging that Mr. Jayewardene had used an Indian-sponsored cease-fire to build up his forces, then pulled back from an earlier willingness to make a deal. Contacts resumed last month, however, with an Indian delegation visiting Colombo.

Politicians say frustration over Sri Lanka has placed new pressure on Mr. Gandhi to look the other way and let the guerrillas resume importing arms from supporters in southern India, which has a population of 50 million Tamils. But Mr. Gandhi has resisted the advice, evidently concluding that India should not be seen doing what it accuses Pakistan of doing in the north Indian state of Punjab — helping the cause of secessionists.

Indian-Pakistani relations have always had their ups and downs. The two countries have fought three wars since becoming independent in 1947. Mutual distrust, diplomats say, is based on both real and imagined reasons. But there was optimism in December when Mr. Gandhi and President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan pledged not to attack each other's nuclear installations and to make a major new effort to improve ties.

Little has been accomplished since, however. There has been no progress in settling a border dispute in the uninhabitable Siachen glacier, and not much on increasing trade. India still accuses Pakistan of allowing Sikh extremists to be armed and trained in that country. A proposed meeting of the two countries' Home Secretaries was canceled when word of it was leaked. And Mr. Gandhi repeated recently that he fears Pakistan is making a nuclear bomb, a charge it denies.

Indian diplomats say that a potential new factor may have entered the calculation — the return of the popular Pakistani opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who



Rajiv Gandhi

Ganana-Liaison / Pablo Bartholomew

was executed in 1979. Some politicians believe she may succeed in forcing early elections and perhaps may even become Prime Minister. Miss Bhutto has called for a closer relationship with India, leading an Indian diplomat to say that it might "make sense" for India to delay negotiating a treaty until it becomes clear whether she will be in power soon.

A large impediment to improving relations has been the two countries' differences over Afghanistan. Mr. Gandhi has frequently suggested that Mr. Zia has exploited the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan to justify a military buildup that, Mr. Gandhi says, threatens India. Now Afghanistan wants India to become involved in the indirect negotiations that resumed last week in Geneva. Participants there were trying to link American and Pakistani offers to pledge noninterference in Afghanistan and Moscow's conditions for withdrawing Soviet troops. Improvement in Indian-Pakistani relations, many analysts say, will be difficult to achieve while the Soviet presence in Afghanistan generates large-scale strategic concerns in the region.

Explosions, A Replacement And an Election

AFGHANISTAN

His two predecessors were killed, but Babrak Karmal, who was installed as Afghanistan's leader when Soviet troops entered the country in 1979, apparently lost only his position as General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party last week. Tass, the Soviet press agency, said Mr. Karmal was still President but had been replaced by a man known only as Najibullah, the former chief of the secret police.

Mr. Najibullah, who was tutored on the road to power by the K.G.B., ordered a crackdown on corruption in the tradition, Kabul radio said, of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

BANGLADESH

President H.M. Ershad of Bangladesh had promised to end martial law when an elected Parliament took office. But after elections last week that were marred by violence and stolen ballot boxes, General Ershad said a separate vote for President — to be held "soon" — would be required first.

Election officials said results from dozens of the 300 districts were being withheld until more information was received on reported irregularities. Both the President's National Party, which was awarded nearly half the seats, and the opposition Awami League, which won nearly 100, agreed that fraud had been widespread. The League said at least 20 of its workers had been killed and 500 injured.

SRI LANKA

Guerrilla attacks, both urban and in the countryside, and military reprisals have killed more than 4,000 people in Sri Lanka, an island nation of 15 million, in three years. Since last weekend, two attacks the Government linked to members of the Tamil minority have been aimed at the country's economic vitals.

Last Saturday, guerrillas blew up an Air Lanka plane boarding passengers at Colombo's international airport. At least 16 people, including European and Japanese tourists and the wife of an official of the Palestine Liberation Organization died; dozens were injured. Five days later, at least 12 people were killed and more than 100 injured in an explosion at the Central Telegraph Office next door to the communications ministry in downtown Colombo. The explosion gutted the interior of the three-story building, which housed public telephones and telex machines and offices.

Sri Lanka officials blamed groups demanding a separate Tamil state in the north and east for both attacks. "The bombings have just begun," one guerrilla leader said. He accused the Government of "atrocities and killings of innocent civilians in the eastern province." But none of the more than 20 Tamil political groups has taken responsibility for the airport bombing.



Wreckage of Air Lanka jet in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Reuters

Shultz Visited the Philippines Last Week

Reagan and Aquino Need Some Time to Get Acquainted

By SETH MYDANS

"SHE'S still an enigma to them," said one of Corazon C. Aquino's closest advisers. "The Americans really had long, friendly relations with Marcos, and now they're faced with something entirely new."

In the crucial days of the revolt in February, the Americans and Mrs. Aquino's backers cooperated to pry Ferdinand E. Marcos from his presidency. There was a

happy moment when the two nations shared credit for the bloodless change of government. But in the 10 weeks since then, the Aquino and Reagan Administrations have been eyeing each other with some wariness as they seek a new working relationship.

Manila is distrustful of President Reagan's long-standing friendship with Mr. Marcos and irked at what it sees as the tardy delivery of economic aid it understood had been promised. Washington seems puzzled by the ambiguities in the new Government's policy. In particular its attitude toward the Communist insurgency, the American bases and the huge foreign debt. "I think there

is not as much meeting of the minds between the Americans and Cory as between the Americans and Marcos," said a Philippine journalist. "They dealt with Marcos for 20 years, and now they have Cory, an unknown and potentially dangerous factor."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz was here last week, and both sides seemed to make an effort at accommodation. His 45-minute meeting with Mrs. Aquino, as described by the Information Minister, Teodoro Locsin Jr., avoided substantive discussion of their differences and was marked by formality and "a certain correctness" on both sides.

The Philippines had been pressing for more aid than was in the limited package offered by the Reagan Administration. Asked after the Shultz visit whether his Government was satisfied with the package, Mr. Locsin said, "It's not whether we're satisfied. It's what we have to live with."

No Passport for Marcos

The United States had been urging the Philippines to grant Mr. Marcos a passport so he could leave Hawaii for a third country. After talking with Philippine officials, Mr. Shultz concluded, "under the circumstances, he probably will be staying in Honolulu."

Philippine officials had said Vice President Salvador H. Laurel was enunciating Government policy when he spoke in Bali, Indonesia, two weeks ago of "cobwebs of doubt" about the Reagan Administration's attitude toward the new Government. Now the officials said Mr. Laurel had "spoken rashly" and "committed a gaffe" in his remarks. But the cobwebs of doubt remain, and they are mutual. At the news conference that concluded his visit, Mr. Shultz praised Mrs. Aquino's warmth, dignity and qualities of leadership. But he also raised eyebrows among Filipinos when he seemed to go out of his way to praise Mr. Marcos as well for avoiding bloodshed during the final hours of his losing struggle to retain power.

In fact, according to accounts emerging in Manila, Mr. Marcos repeatedly issued orders to fire on the rebel

soldiers who were surrounded by crowds of civilians, only to have his orders ignored.

Mrs. Aquino is indeed different from Mr. Marcos, in part because of her determination to reconcile the country's right wing, which her predecessor represented, with the left. In this, she is addressing the very problems of the Marcos Government that eventually led to the withdrawal of American support. But in doing so, she has created a period of uncertainty that has led to some of the American doubts about her administration.

At a May Day rally, she worried some of her supporters by appearing on stage with two Communist leaders whom she had released from prison, and by sitting, however unwillingly, through a rendition of the "Internationale," the revolutionary hymn. She appears to have only the formal support of many in the military, and not much support from American diplomats, for her attempt to arrange a cease-fire with Communist insurgents.

Her Government's public debate over whether to honor some \$26 billion in foreign debts inherited from her predecessor has dampened for the moment the climate for foreign lending and investment. And although her position on the two large American bases in the Philippines does not differ significantly from that of her predecessor — she says she will review the base agreement when it expires in 1991 — this question, too, remains an uncertainty for the Americans.

The wariness with which the two governments seem to view each other is not altogether a disadvantage for Mrs. Aquino as she seeks to hold the support of both the right and the left in the Philippines. The tag line "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" is a rallying cry that is no longer available to leftist demonstrators.

While the longstanding relationship between Washington and Manila remains deep and warm, the formality and correctness with which Mrs. Aquino received Mr. Shultz may well be healthier and more realistic than the coziness of the Marcos years. "Now the world knows," one political columnist wrote, "that we are no longer a tail on the kite of the State Department."



Secretary of State George P. Shultz reviewing an honor guard during visit to Manila last week.

Associated Press

The Nation

Voters in 4 States Stick With Familiar Faces

The 1986 primary election season has moved into full swing, with contests last weekend in Texas and a few days later in Ohio, North Carolina and Indiana. Last week's results contained few surprises. Familiar candidates prevailed over newer ones, local and regional issues dominated and there was no clear clue to the year's major question: Will the Republicans, with 22 seats at stake, hold their Senate majority?

In North Carolina, control of the state Republican party was as much an issue as hardship in agriculture and textiles. David F. Funderburk, a college professor who was a protégé

of Senator Jesse Helms, lost the G.O.P. Senatorial primary to Representative James T. Broyhill, a moderate conservative who has represented his Piedmont district in Washington since 1961. Mr. Broyhill's Democratic opponent for the seat held by Senator John P. East, a Republican who is retiring because of poor health, will be former Gov. Terry Sanford, who won 60 percent of the vote in a 10-candidate field.

In Ohio, two Democrats, Senator John Glenn and Governor Richard F. Celeste, were renominated easily. The Republicans nominated a former four-term Governor, James A. Rhodes, to challenge Mr. Celeste. Governor Celeste's handling of a crisis in the state's savings and loan industry and Mr. Rhodes's age — he is 78 — are expected to be important general election issues. In Indiana, Senator Dan Quayle, a first-term Re-

publican, was unopposed, and Jill L. Long, a college professor, won the Democratic primary easily.

No Senate seat was up in Texas, but Gov. Mark White, a Democrat whose popularity has been falling with the price of oil, won only 54 percent of the primary vote against five opponents. The man he ousted in 1982, Bill Clements, the first Republican Governor of Texas since Reconstruction, easily led in a three-way race for his party's nomination.

Senate Backs Military Reforms

Marching in close-order drill, the Senate last week approved without dissent a sweeping reorganization of the nation's military hierarchy. The 95-to-0 vote was hardly unexpected. Last year, the House overwhelmingly approved a similar change; in February, a bipartisan commission headed by David Packard, a business executive who was Deputy Defense Secretary in the Nixon Administration, delivered similar recommendations, and last month President Reagan endorsed them. The measure would make the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the principal military adviser to the President and give field commanders more control over fighting forces in combat, thus diminishing the au-

thority of the heads of the individual services. Advocates of the changes have said that poor coordination and rivalry between the Army, Navy and Air Force have produced an inefficient military. Opponents, especially in the Navy, have said that the bill would give too much power to the Chairman's general staff at the possible expense of civilian control.

2 Catholic Groups Held in Contempt

A Federal judge in New York City gave the debate over the separation of church and state a new dimension last week, holding two major organizations of the Roman Catholic Church in contempt of court. The reason, he said, was their refusal to turn over documents subpoenaed in a six-year-old lawsuit over the church's tax-exempt status.

The central question of the case, brought by Abortion Rights Mobilization, a Manhattan-based organization, and 20 other pro-choice groups and individuals, is whether the church's campaign against abortion, including its opposition and support of candidates for public office, means that it cannot be given favored tax treatment. Those who support abortion rights are denied similar advantage.

The documents sought by the

plaintiffs, according to their lawyer, Marshall Bell, concerned the church's "partisan political activity," its tax-exempt status and enforcement of the tax code by the Internal Revenue Service. The judge, Robert L. Carter of District Court, held in an eight-page opinion that the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the United States Catholic Conference had "willfully misled" him and the plaintiffs in a series of procedural "maneuvers." He ordered each group to begin paying daily fines of \$50,000 tomorrow, but stayed the order pending appeal.

In 1982, Judge Carter removed the two organizations as defendants in the suit on the ground that "it is against the Government, not the church, that plaintiffs have stated a claim." But the conferences remained subject to subpoena for documents. In the past, they have held that the subpoenas raised "grave constitutional issues."

Presser May Be Indicted After All

In what would be a remarkable about-face, Federal prosecutors are expected to seek indictment of Jackie Presser, the teamster leader, in connection with purported no-show jobs for union workers. Less than a year ago, after a 32-month inquiry into ac-

cusations of embezzlement produced indictments of several other teamster officials, the Justice Department had decided not to prosecute him. Then as now, the decision turned on the relation between Mr. Presser's alleged wrongdoing and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In July, Administration officials said the union chief's activities as an informer were an impediment to charging him — particularly since F.B.I. agents claimed they had approved some of the actions on which Mr. Presser might have faced charges, and may have encouraged them. Last week, Justice Department officials said the investigation had been reopened after prosecutors determined that F.B.I. agents might have lied to protect their source. They said at least one agent who had used Mr. Presser as an informer would probably be indicted with him.

The disclosure that indictments would be sought came as investigators in one of several Congressional inquiries into the Justice Department's handling of the case released a report charging that the bureau had not fully cooperated with them and had hampered Labor Department investigators who had been hot on the trail of Mr. Presser's allegedly illegal authorization of \$700,000 in pay to people who were not doing work for the union.

Caroline Rand Herron and Michael Wright

The Space Agency Can't Seem to Break Its Losing Streak

BETWEEN them, the Air Force and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration seemed to have an inexhaustible supply of rockets. But over the last 15 weeks, model by model, almost all the fleet has been grounded.

First came the disintegration of the space shuttle Challenger, one of the four vehicles that NASA expected would satisfy the nation's need to get payloads — both military and civilian — into space. In April, an Air Force Titan rocket with a secret spy satellite aboard exploded above Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif. The second Titan explosion in a row, it knocked out the military's prime "extendable launch vehicle," the main alternative to the shuttle.

All eyes turned to a routine NASA launching of a less-powerful Delta rocket, a workhorse with a 94 percent success rate, with a weather satellite aboard. After poring over the rocket for weeks to assure that nothing would go wrong, NASA engineers watched in astonishment as the Del-

ta's main engine shut down 71 seconds into a flight last weekend.

NASA was quick to explain that the failures appeared to have different causes. But by week's end the agency was under strong attack on Capitol Hill for vast cutbacks in quality-control personnel. Records released yesterday indicated that the maker of the shuttle booster rockets had punished engineers who testified before the Presidential panel of inquiry, while the panel's chairman suggested that NASA "almost covered up" past problems with O-ring safety seals on the shuttle booster.

As the space agency simmered,

more than 40 commercial and military satellites are waiting on a lengthening line, and industry officials are talking more and more about turning to the French, the Japanese or the Chinese to help get their payloads into orbit.

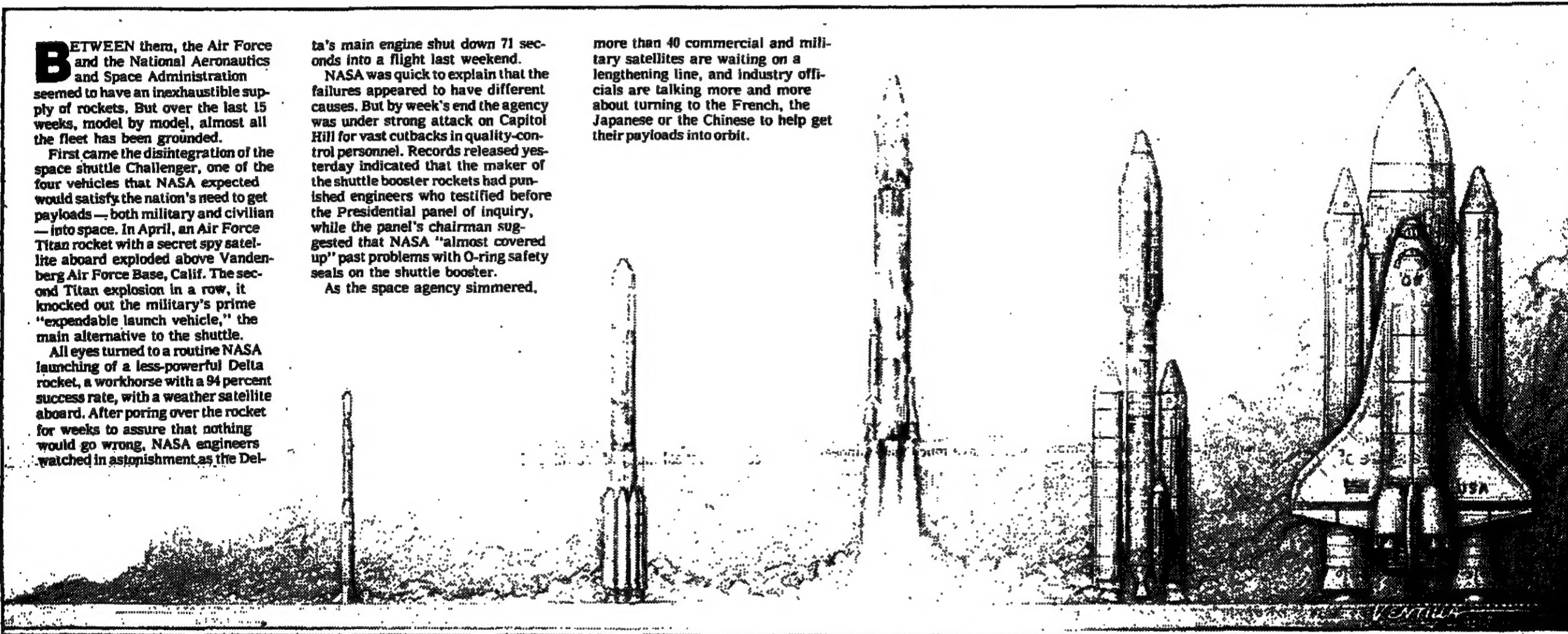


Illustration by G. Vercillo

The Scout

At 68 feet, it is one of NASA's smallest, all-solid-fuel rockets, capable of boosting small payloads, such as scientific instruments weighing only a few hundred pounds. It is still flying, but space agency officials say it would be of little help in getting aloft the equipment that the shuttle and much larger rockets would carry.

The Delta

NASA's most reliable rocket for 25 years, the 116-foot Delta was used frequently to launch weather satellites and other medium-weight payloads. It is propelled primarily by liquid fuel, with "strap on" solid fuel boosters around its base. Its May 3 flight, the 178th Delta launching, was aborted in flight, probably because of an electrical short-circuit. Last week, NASA disclosed that a similar short circuit led to a 1974 Delta accident. It had urged its contractors to study and fix electronic components if needed. The Rocketdyne division of Rockwell International — with NASA's concurrence — never altered a first-stage relay switch that apparently shut down the engine.

The Atlas-Centaur

A modified launch vehicle adapted from the first Air Force ICBM, the Atlas-Centaur is propelled by two-staged liquid-fuel rocket. The 134-foot rocket is used to launch Earth-orbital satellites and interplanetary space probes. Because of design similarities with the Delta, a May 22 launch has been postponed pending the outcome of the Delta investigation.

The Titan 34D

About 117-feet tall — the exact height depends on what it is carrying — the Titan is a liquid-fuel rocket capable of launching a variety of heavy civilian and military payloads. At liftoff, only the two solid-fuel booster rockets are fired, one of which is under suspicion in the April 18 explosion. The liquid-fuel first stage — suspected in an earlier accident — is fired just short of two minutes into flight. The Titan and the space shuttle are the primary vehicles for putting spy satellites in space. But the current Titan fleet is grounded, and the first of the new rockets is not scheduled for delivery until 1988.

The Shuttle

Unlike any other vehicle in the NASA or military fleet, the 184-foot shuttle is designed to be far more versatile than an unmanned, expendable rocket. Not only can it launch satellites, but it can also carry a crew to fix them, and payload specialists working aboard the orbiter can perform enormously complex experiments in space. But despite the fact that the orbiter and its solid boosters are re-usable, the shuttle has proven an economically poor venture, subject to criticism for that reason even before the Jan. 28 accident that killed seven astronauts. Redesigning the faulty joints on the solid fuel rocket will take a year at a minimum; many think it could be much longer.

Casey Squares Off Against the Press

Leaks Vs. Public Service Announcements

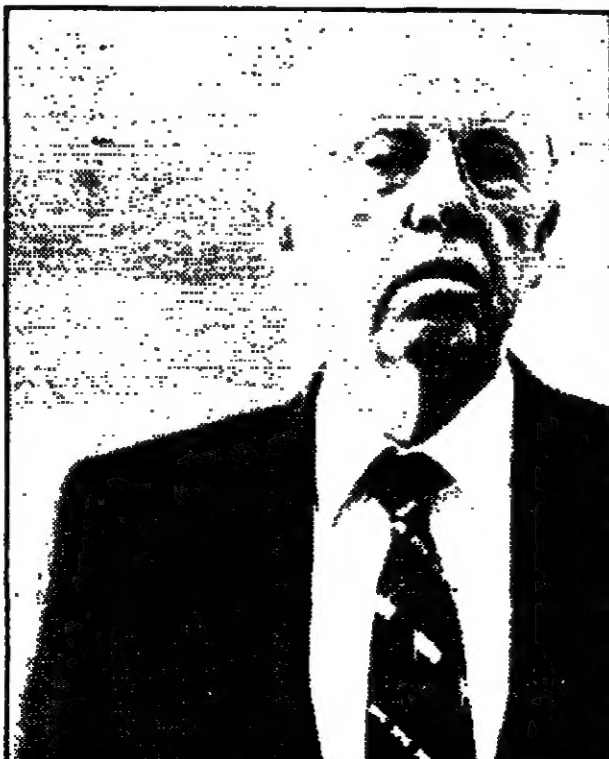
By RICHARD HALLORAN

RONALD REAGAN, Casper W. Weinberger and William J. Casey share a profound distaste for leaks to the press. But, as demonstrated once again last week, the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of Central Intelligence have been inconsistent in their approach.

For instance, John P. Wallach of the Hearst News Service got a tip several weeks ago from a colleague in London and put in calls to the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House. His question: Had Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher refused to allow the United States to launch bombers from bases in Britain to strike Libya. The first two officials with whom he spoke said they were under a "tight lid." The third said the tip was wrong, adding, "the President has decided to act." That aide declined to deny a suggestion that Air Force F-111s would be dispatched, thus confirming it. A fourth official filled in a few details.

Thus on Saturday, April 12, nearly 72 hours before the attack against Libya, Mr. Wallach's story on the front page of The Baltimore News American quoted "a senior Administration source" as saying the British had given permission for the F-111 strike. No protest was made over the surreptitious disclosure of sensitive military information, nor did the Administration start a search for the leakers.

But when The Washington Post and a nationally syndicated column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak carried reports that Mr. Casey had gone to Angola to ar-



William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence.

range for the covert shipment through Zaire of anti-aircraft missiles to insurgents, the response was different. The suspected leaker was Michael E. Pillsbury, an Assistant Under Secretary of Defense. Asked to take a polygraph, or lie detector, test, which he failed, he was promptly dismissed and may face legal action.

What made the difference? The first leak was authorized, since putting out the information conformed with Administration policy. During the week before the attack on Libya, the Administration was trying to keep that country's leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, off balance with public and private warnings that the attack was coming. The leak ascribed to Mr. Pillsbury, on the other hand, was unauthorized. Especially damaging, in the Administration view, was the mention of Zaire, the government of which has been nervous about being linked to the Angolan rebels led by Jonas Savimbi, who has been criticized in Africa because he has received support from South Africa.

Last week, the prospective publication of information that Administration officials said included classified data on American intelligence provided to the Soviet Union by Ronald W. Pelton, a former employee of the National Security Agency who has been charged with espionage, brought Mr. Casey out.

Frustrated over the Administration's inability to control its own officials, he threatened to take five news organizations, including The New York Times, to court for publishing unauthorized information. The Washington Post reported that during a meeting with the newspaper's editors Mr. Casey asserted, "we've got five absolutely cold violations." Noting that The Post was planning to publish new information about intelligence activi-

ties, Mr. Casey was quoted as saying: "I'm not threatening you. But you've got to know that if you publish this, I would recommend that you be prosecuted."

The evidence in such a prosecution would be interesting. For Reagan Administration officials, like their predecessors, have been primary sources of leaks. As the chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, Senator Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, put it recently: "Every Administration has faced the problem of leaks, but none so much as this one."

Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution, in a study of Washington news coverage, has categorized leaks by motive. The policy leak, he says, "is a straightforward pitch for or against a proposal using some document or insiders' information." The trial balloon leak reveals a proposal "to assess its assets and liabilities."

Ego leaks, which in Mr. Hess's view are frequent, provide information "primarily to satisfy a sense of self-importance." Goodwill leaks, he says, are designed "to accumulate credit with a reporter." In the animus leak, Mr. Hess says, "information is disclosed to embarrass another person." With the whistleblower leak, "going to the press may be the last resort of frustrated civil servants who feel they cannot correct a perceived wrong through regular Government channels."

The Justice Department is said to be resisting Mr. Casey's suggestion that news organizations be prosecuted. Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said it would be the Justice Department's decision. On Capitol Hill, the vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, said: "I think when you go after press organizations, you're treating the symptom rather than the problem. You should go after the persons doing the leaking."

"Anyone who violates the law should be prosecuted," Mr. Speakes said at week's end, "whether it be a publication or whether it be a member of the Administration who is leaking information."

The Rush to Write 'Son of Iacocca'

Best-seller by Chrysler's head spurs a swarm of public figures to go for gold ring.

By EDWIN McDOWELL

FOUR years ago on this date, The New York Times hardcover best-seller list did not include a single biography, autobiography or memoir.

Now "Iacocca" is enjoying its 90th week on that list. "Yeager," by former test-pilot Chuck Yeager, is in its 44th week of best-selling glory. "The Triumph of Politics," David A. Stockman's memoir of his years in the Reagan Administration, is the No. 1 best seller. And a seemingly endless stream of businessmen, politicians and performers are eagerly telling their innermost personal and professional secrets in print.

Apparently, they are writing what the public wants to read. Today, 10 out of the 16 non-fiction best sellers are life stories or memoirs. The most recent Gallup annual report on book buying showed that the sale of autobiography and biography now runs a close second to that of reference and instruction books, the publishing industry's meat and potatoes. In what borders on understatement, Peter Osnos, a senior editor at Random House, says, "The success record of books by celebrities who have something to say, and who say it well, seems to be very good."

Indeed, the "celebrity bio" is helping to pull the publishing industry out of the doldrums. "Biography and au-

thors were virtual unknowns until the books came out.

Many of them are still relatively unknown, but the best of them are said to command as much as 50 percent of the royalties, as well as a share of book club sales and other subsidiary income. If they have co-authored or ghostwritten a blockbuster, they never again "have to take anything that comes along." In the words of Leo Janos, the writer of Mr. Yeager's autobiography who now is writing Hugh Hefner's autobiography for Bantam Books for an undisclosed (but probably generous) percentage of royalties.

Similarly, William Novak, who wrote "Iacocca" for Bantam for \$45,000 (although the publisher gave him bonuses supposedly totaling another \$40,000 after the book became a runaway best seller), is now a high-ticket collaborator. He received what is thought to be a substantial share of royalties for "Goodbye to the Low Profile," by Herbert Schneitz,



Bill Cosby's bestseller brought \$1.6 million from paperback rights.

Mobil's vice president of public affairs, and a forthcoming book by Sydney Biddle Barrows, the so-called Mayflower Madame.

While the ghostwriters and collaborators are often under contract to the publisher, a growing number of celebrities have been hiring their own writers these days. Representative O'Neill is paying Mr. Novak an undisclosed amount to write his autobiography. Mr. Pickens has hired Joseph Nocera, a freelance magazine writer, to write his memoirs for a percentage of the eventual proceeds.

Tony Schwartz, also a magazine writer, is virtually guaranteed a substantial six-figure income from "The Art of the Deal," a book he is doing with—and for—Donald Trump, the New York developer. Mr. Schwartz is said to be receiving a split of the advance as well as of royalties.

Strictly speaking, Mr. Trump's book is not an autobiography. Instead, it will—at Mr. Schwartz's suggestion—describe Mr. Trump's real estate negotiations. "It will combine how-to with a description of the deals he has done and how he has done them," Mr. Schwartz said.

Publishers often are willing to pay top dollar for books in which celebrities discuss subjects other than their life stories. Putnam's and Berkley Books, its mass market paperback arm, recently paid Elizabeth Taylor an undisclosed but undoubtedly hefty advance to write about women's attitudes toward weight. Similarly, Doubleday got Bill Cosby to write on a subject especially dear to his heart.

The result is a first printing of a whopping 750,000 copies of "Fatherhood" and a recent \$1.6 million paperback sale to Berkley.

Name recognition is considered so important for selling books that even



T. Boone Pickens's memoirs brought him a \$1.5 million advance.

do a book," said Michael Korda, editor in chief of Simon & Schuster. Mr. Korda turned those books down—largely because they are likely to be of only local interest, not because of any squeamishness about publishing books by wrongdoers. Most publishers say their function is not to be censors but to publish books of public interest. "I would not be comfortable publishing a book by General Stroessner of Paraguay or Baby Doc, but luckily for me I don't think people would be interested in reading about them," Mr. Korda said.

St. Martin's Press apparently feels people are interested in knowing more about R. Foster Winans, the journalist who was convicted of passing advance information to stockbrokers. Next fall it will publish his book, "Trading Secrets: Seduction and Scandal at the Wall Street Journal." "It is not a mea culpa," said Alfred Lowman, the author's literary agent. "What makes the book fascinating is his account of how rumors and insider trading run Wall Street."

The new crop of autobiographers has come up with novel ways of calling attention to themselves and their books. Chuck Yeager crammed 120 interviews into an 11-city tour last July—and he and his co-pilot set speed records between every city in a two-engine turbo prop airplane.

Victor Kiam, the head of Remington Products, is so determined to make a best seller of his new book, "Going For It," that he is supplementing the publisher's minimum \$250,000 advertising and promotion budget with a minimum \$1 million ad campaign of his own. "My book is about how to become a successful entrepreneur," Mr. Kiam said. "When I looked at who bought Iacocca's book, I saw it was still an insignificant percentage of the total population, and I thought I could write a book that would have much wider appeal."

To recoup his investment, Mr. Kiam will have to sell some 350,000 copies. To do that, Mr. Kiam, who as a salesman for Playtex once convinced that company it could "presell" bras by prepackaging them, is hoping to "presell" his book by sensitizing the public to its existence. He has gotten the book into bookstores, in discount stores, in catalogues, and in Remington stores.

Magazines often will pay top dollar to excerpt biographies of celebrities. Newsweek paid a reported \$250,000 to publish two installments—in advance of the book's publication date—of Mr. Stockman's "The Triumph of Politics." Good Housekeeping paid \$80,000 to publish a prepublication excerpt (called "first serial rights") of Mr. Cosby's "Fatherhood."

Publishers further recoup part of their investment by selling books to

irreverent biography—neither made the best-seller list. Two books about Fidel Castro are scheduled for publication in 1986, and both publishers—William Morrow and Dodd, Mead—can only hope that the rival book will not siphon off sales from their own.

There may soon be overkill on the subject of David Stockman, too. Donald I. Fine Inc. recently published "Stockman: The Man, the Myth, the Future," by Owen Ullman, a journalist. And St. Martin's Press is currently shipping copies of its book, "The Real David Stockman" by John Greenya and Anne Urban, members of the Ralph Nader organization.

Random House recently signed up the autobiography of Anatole Shcharansky, who was released earlier this year after serving nine years in a Soviet prison. Meanwhile, late this month Viking Penguin will publish a biography of Mr. Shcharansky by Martin Gilbert, the official biographer of Winston Churchill.

Sometimes the rivalry over celebrity biographies can be quite intense. For example, Sidney Zion is writing an authorized autobiography of Roy Cohn for Random House, while Nicholas von Hoffman is writing an unauthorized biography of the controversial New York lawyer for Doubleday. Industry sources say that Mr.



Thomas P. O'Neill is getting more than \$1 million from Random House.

Cohn agreed to the authorized book because he fears the worst from Mr. von Hoffman's account.

David Harris is writing an authorized autobiography of William S. Paley for Bantam, while Sally Bedell Smith is writing an unauthorized biography for Simon & Schuster. Mr. Paley, the founder of CBS, actually wrote his autobiography, "As It Happened," in 1979, but, he said in a recent release, "Now I feel the time has come to reveal many of the things I could not then say."

Some industry officials have suggested that Mr. Paley agreed to the authorized book partly to deter Mrs. Smith—who, despite Mr. Paley's refusal to cooperate, remains quite undeterred. "My book is going to draw on the record and on the knowledge and insights from many people who have known him both at and outside of CBS," she said.

Money is rarely the motivation for rich men like Mr. Paley. In fact, celebrity-authors often do not keep their royalties—a large portion of Mr. Iacocca's profits, for example, are earmarked for diabetes research. Mr. Trump announced that he is donating his royalties to charity.

Their motivations, instead, are fame, or reputation, or even revenge. William P. Tavoulareas, the former president of Mobil Oil, is thought by some to have written "Fighting Back"—the story of his six-year battle against The Washington Post, which accused him of using Mobil resources to set up his son in the shipping business to the detriment of Mobil stockholders—as much to try to discredit that newspaper as to clear the family name he accuses The Post of having tried to dishonor.

Henry Ford 2d, the former chairman of the Ford Motor Company, may be writing his book in order to insure his posthumous reputation. Mr. Ford, the villain of Mr. Iacocca's autobiography, has steadfastly refused to comment on the author's claim that Mr. Ford always considered him an outsider and finally fired him as president in 1978 with the remark, "Well, sometimes you just don't like somebody." But for some years he has been dictating his memoirs to David Lewis, a University of Michigan professor, who will not publish them until three years after Mr. Ford's death.

Next month, however, Little, Brown will publish "Ford" by Robert Lacey, a semi-official history of the Ford family. The book is being rushed into print in order to be out well before another book on the Ford family, one being written for Summit Books by Peter Collier and David Horowitz, the irreverent biographers of best-selling books on the Rockefellers and the Kennedys. The intense rivalry between the authors of the two books divided the Detroit auto executive community and even caused strains among Ford family members about which authors to speak to.

Meanwhile, "The Reckoning," a book by David Halberstam scheduled for publication this fall by Morrow, also deals with the Ford-Iacocca set-to. While that incident occupies only a small portion of the book, which really is on the automobile industry, Morrow officials hint that the revelations will be explosive.

"I hope so," said an editor at another publishing house, his mind obviously on business. "Then maybe Henry Ford will want to offer his version of the feud now, instead of waiting for posterity."

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Tax Revision Gets New Lease on Life

Bob Packwood matched victory from the jaws of defeat in a stunning turnaround that saw his Senate Finance Committee unanimously pass a tax plan that even the Oregon Republican was close to calling a lost cause. The plan would greatly simplify tax filing for individuals by eliminating most deductions and reducing the number of individual tax brackets to two, with a top rate of 27 percent. For businesses, taxes would increase by about \$100 billion, but the extra bite would be softened somewhat by more favorable depreciation rules and other provisions.

The plan faces a fight in the full Senate, however, where special interests, which were excluded from the closed Finance Committee meetings, would have a chance to restore some favorite preferences. And the bill is vastly different from the one passed by the House last year. But the plan has the backing of President Reagan, and specialists generally acknowledge that many, if not most, of its provisions are likely to survive.

The United States won and lost at the summit meeting in Tokyo, most observers agree. While the economic premise of the conference was overshadowed by such issues as terrorism and the nuclear disaster in the Soviet Union, the United States was successful in pushing through a new mechanism to ameliorate sharp swings in currency trading. Called the Group of Seven and comprising the finance ministers of the summit nations, the new entity will attempt to use pressure and intervention to ensure all members are achieving the proper economic growth. While most economists praise the concept of the group, some wonder whether it is workable. Still, the Group of Seven is a personal triumph for Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d, who has been pushing for such a change.

But President Reagan failed to achieve any breakthroughs on agricultural subsidies, a particularly sore spot for the United States. The Administration has wanted a new round of talks to discuss removing such barriers to open trade. The French, and now the British, have agreed to the talks, but not to when they will be held, effectively scotching any serious negotiations.

Burroughs made another pass at Sperry, offering nearly \$4.1 billion for the computer company. When Sperry didn't respond, Burroughs asked stockholders to tender their shares. Burroughs, which failed in a bid for Sperry a year ago, has structured its deal in a "bear hug" that Sperry may find difficult to escape. But Sperry stock was quickly bid above the \$70 a share that Burroughs offered, indicating that Wall Street expects Sperry to fight and Burroughs—or someone else—to up the ante. Some analysts said that if the two companies merged, the new entity could pose a challenge to the giant of the industry, I.B.M. But others say their product lines are too different to allow for any real clout.

Securities dealers swallowed the Treasury's biggest offering ever, but



Senator Bob Packwood

not without a little indigestion. The \$27 billion in notes and bonds sold at their lowest yields in 13 years, but toward the end of the three-day auction rates began to rise again as traders worried about the likelihood that the low rates could be sustained. An unexpectedly large \$3 billion rise in the money supply fueled those doubts.

Stock performance was mixed, but the Dow industrials rose 14.75 for the week, closing at 1,788.43.

The S.E.C. said it won't change its policy of requiring energy companies to use the accounting methods that resulted in big write-offs because of recent drops in oil prices.

The latest ad agency merger would combine Saatchi & Saatchi and Ted Bates, assuming the kinks get worked out of the deal. Saatchi just bought Backer & Spielvogel, and buying Ted Bates, the nation's third-largest agency—probably for about \$280 million—would leapfrog Saatchi ahead of the new combination of BBDO, Doyle Dane and Needham Harper, announced a week earlier.

Time Inc. will invest about \$5 million in Parenting, a magazine aimed at affluent parents. Buying into a magazine rather than starting one is a departure for Time, which has had trouble recently with homegrown new ventures.

Retailers reported mixed sales in April, although they are optimistic that consumers will soon start emptying their swelling pocketbooks.

A bill to aid ailing banks is needed, Paul A. Volcker said, but the Fed chairman said it would rarely have to be used. He told a House panel that a proposed bill to allow interstate bank mergers when the bank to be acquired is in trouble should be part of Federal regulatory powers.

The Farm Credit System lost \$206 million in the quarter.

First Boston settled insider trading charges, agreeing to pay a \$380,000 fine for what the S.E.C. said was illegal trading in Cigna.

AN ECLECTIC GROUP OF NAMES AND FACES

The list of books by—or about—celebrities, tycoons and politicians keeps getting longer. This is just a partial list of life stories that have either just hit the bookstores or are about to.

Business: William S. Paley, Henry Ford 2d, Victor Kiam, William Agee, An Wang, David Mahoney, J. Seward Johnson, Oleg Cassini, Rupert Murdoch.

Politics and public life: Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Christa McAuliffe, Bob and Elizabeth Dole, Svetlana Alliluyeva, Ariel Sharon, Jesse Jackson, Jerry Falwell, Anatoly B. Shcharansky, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt Jr., Andrew Young, Fidel Castro, Roy M. Cohn, Claus von Bulow, Clare Boothe Luce. The latter is being written by Sylvia Jukes Morris,

whose husband is writing the authorized Reagan biography. In addition, Julie Nixon Eisenhower is writing a biography of her parents, while David Eisenhower, her husband, is writing a biography of his grandfather, the former president.

Entertainers: Frank Sinatra (an unauthorized biography), Carol Burnett, Joan Rivers, Burt Reynolds, Hugh Hefner, Cher, Beverly Sills, Patty Duke, John Phillips, Carrie Fisher, Chuck Berry.

Athletes: Willie Mays, Pete Rose, Grete Waitz, Davey Johnson, Lou Piniella, Roger Staubach, Roger Maris, Keith Hernandez. **Writers:** Biographies of Edward R. Murrow, Tennessee Williams, Ayn Rand.

works or have just come out. "Lots of business executives now go home at night to hunt and peck for a few hours, tapping out what they hope will be the next 'Iacocca,'" said Stuart Applebaum, a vice president of Bantam Books.

Those business executives, and other aspiring celebrity authors are seeking collaborators and literary agents with the care they normally reserve for picking lawyers and accountants. The fussiness is understandable, since the rewards for a best seller are huge. Publishers, all hoping to gain title to the next "Iacocca," are offering non-refundable advances ranging into six and seven figures.

Random House has offered at least \$3 million for Edmund Morris's authorized biography of Ronald Reagan, and is paying more than \$1 million for the autobiography of Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Speaker of the House. Harper & Row paid David Stockman more than \$2 million for his best-selling memoir. And Houghton Mifflin is paying \$1.5 million for the memoirs of T. Boone Pickens, the Mesa Petroleum chairman notorious for his takeover battles.

A book that does well can change a collaborator's life. Unlike the celebrities, most of whom already are famous and wealthy, many of the actual

unfavorable recognition is considered a plus. Thus, a biography is due out soon on Michele Sindona, the Sicilian financier who was poisoned in Italy recently, within days of being sentenced to life imprisonment for complicity in murder. And "Stranger in Two Worlds," the autobiography of



Victor Kiam is putting up \$1 million of his own to advertise his book.

Jean Harris, in prison for murdering her lover, Dr. Herman Tarnower, is scheduled for publication July 30. "Practically everybody involved in the New York City parking violations scandal has been in touch wanting to

the major book clubs, and, if they do not publish the paperback edition themselves, to other paperback houses. They often retain world rights—that is, the right to license the book in hardcover and paperback throughout the world.

That leverage helped in the case of "Ferraro: My Story," Geraldine A. Ferraro's autobiography, for which Bantam paid the former vice presidential candidate \$1 million. The book was only a modest success in its American hardcover edition. But Bantam sold first serial rights to Newsweek, The Los Angeles Times Syndicate bought newspaper serialization rights, it was a main selection of the Book of the Month Club and Bantam licensed it to publishers in England, Australia and Italy.

Perhaps the greatest threat to a publisher of a celebrity book is unexpected competition. When two biographies of the same celebrity come out together, it is rare that both become huge best sellers. Earlier this year, for example, both Henry Holt and Crown Publishers brought out biographies of J. Paul Getty, yet only Crown's offering—"The Great Getty," written by Robert Lenzner—made The Times best-seller list. (It is currently No. 12.) When two books came out recently about Estée Lauder—her autobiography and an

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MAY 9, 1986

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Sperry	31,724,000	73%	+18%
Phil Pil	7,522,800	10%	+
IBM	7,318,200	149%	- 3%
AT&T	7,040,100	25%	+
Mobil	6,789,200	30%	+
Goodyr	6,004,300	31%	+
Phile El	5,828,700	17%	-
Exxon	5,755,500	58%	+ 1%
Viacom	5,246,900	72	- 9
Ocel Pet	5,192,100	28%	+ 2%
Chemv	5,082,000	40%	+ 2%
AELPw	4,928,700	24%	- 1
Gen Mot	4,870,400	77%	+
Oakind	4,581,800	1%	+
Black D	4,480,800	23	+ 2%

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
400 Indust	286.1	268.0	+4.06
20 Transp	205.0	200.4	-0.71
40 Util	102.4	100.4	+0.64
40 Financial	28.1	28.4	+0.09
500 Stocks	238.2	233.9	+3.06

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Dow Jones	1803.3	1755.2	+14.75
30 Indust	737.4	773.3	+1.47
15 Util	185.2	179.5	+1.50
85 Comb	702.5	683.2	+8.58

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MAY 9, 1986

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Wickes	6,265,800	6%	+
FIAsatPr	3,074,000	11%	+
DomePet	2,758,200	1%	-1/16
AmExpre wt	2,318,200	4%	...
BAT Ind	2,219,500	6%	-1/16
AmTEx pr	1,864,100	49%	+ 2%
PICapHld	1,133,800	14%	+
WangLabs B	1,073,700	17%	-
AmCable	964,500	14%	...
LorimerTel	895,200	25%	-

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Advances	1,246	518	...
Declines	719	1,505	...
Total Issues	2,215	2,216	...
New Highs	170	229	...
New Lows	32	39	...

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Advances	503	256	...
Declines	288	537	...
Unchanged	134	127	...
Total Issues	925	920	...
New Highs	85	95	...
New Lows	21	27	...

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The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A.M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SHYMOUR TOPPING, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager
LAURENCE R. PRIMIS, Sr. V.P., Asst. General Manager
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, Sr. V.P., Circulation
J.A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations
HOWARD BISHOP, V.P., Employee Relations
ERICH G. LINKER JR., V.P., Advertising
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSE, V.P., Systems

Nuclear Fire's Doubtful Gift

Some 84,000 Ukrainians have been evacuated from their homes because of the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor, and the health toll from radiation may climb fast. Even now, Soviet engineers may not fully understand what is going on in the stricken reactor or even when the accident will be over.

As the tragedy unfolds, it prompts many people, not just committed opponents, to reconsider the risks and benefits of nuclear energy. Can more Chernobyls be prevented? If not, is nuclear power worth such a price? Or is the fire that lights the stars too fierce for human hands?

There are now 361 nuclear reactors operating in the world, with 175 more under construction. Whatever the specific reasons for the accident at Chernobyl, reactors outside the Soviet Union have not had a comforting safety record either. In America, competence varies widely among nuclear utilities, and their guardian, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, is often criticized for leniency.

The 1979 accident at Three Mile Island showed that a core could suffer partial meltdown, even though the containment vessel confined almost all radioactivity. But perilous safety lapses have continued to occur, as at New Jersey's Salem 2 in February 1983, and Ohio's Davis-Besse plant only last June.

Do such accidents mean that all nuclear reactors should be closed? No. Many have long records of safe, economic operation. Instead of an alarmed rush to ban all of them, the more reasonable response would be to scrutinize the plants with the weakest safety records, and those that are sited, regrettably, near large populations, like New York's Indian Point and Chicago's Zion. In the wake of Chernobyl, higher confidence in their safety may be required.

Nuclear safety would be even more pressing if nuclear power were more needed. In America, it isn't, at least not yet. No new nuclear power plant

has been ordered since 1978 because reactors cost too much to build and the demand for electric power has leveled off. Even when demand picks up, the present generation of nuclear reactors will be the most expensive way to meet it.

Far cheaper is conservation. Consumers still use electricity recklessly because they don't pay for the true cost of building extra generating capacity. There's too little incentive for energy-efficient appliances and other conservation steps. New pricing structures could quickly induce New Yorkers to buy energy-efficient air conditioners and insulated refrigerators. That would soon obviate the need for a new power plant.

Even if America could, with its abundance of natural resources, put off new nuclear plants for years, someday we'll need more electricity. There's little sense in arbitrarily ruling out nuclear power. A new generation of reactors, designed with inherent safety and built in standardized form, could play a useful role.

It's easy to forget, in the shadow of Chernobyl, that safe nuclear reactors are environmentally benign. They don't acidify the rain, or produce gases that contribute to the greenhouse effect, a feared global warming of the earth's atmosphere. Now is the time to start developing them. Better for America to have a nuclear option and not need it than need it and not have it.

Other countries will make their own choices. Those like France, whose electricity is 65 percent nuclear, won't abandon their commitment: they have little alternative. Like American utilities, they will tend to see Chernobyl as specific to Soviet design.

The future lesson of Chernobyl is likely to be more safety, not the abandonment of nuclear power. The lesson in retrospect is little different: A technology so hard for human institutions to manage should have been designed from the start with inherent safety. Nuclear fire may seem a doubtful gift, but it's still too early to assume it can't be safely handled.

The Incredible Improving Tax Plan

"A second American revolution" is what President Reagan called his sweeping plan to restructure Federal taxes last year. He had the hyperbole right but the details wrong. His complicated package begged to be rewritten and that's what the House did, producing an improved but still-complex bill. Now, miraculously, the Senate Finance Committee, which recently seemed bent on killing reform, has suddenly produced a truly radical plan that tops them both.

The committee bill, grounded in the work of New Jersey's Senator Bill Bradley and masterminded by Chairman Bob Packwood of Oregon, is a shrewd combination of smaller personal tax cuts that look bigger than either the Reagan or House proposals, and less onerous tax increases for most businesses.

The result is real reform: a simpler, fairer tax system in which people and businesses can spend and invest without first considering the tax implications. Most of those implications would be demolished or greatly reduced.

The key to Mr. Packwood's success is dramatically cutting the top personal tax rate, now 50 percent, all the way down to 27 percent. That figure is deceptive; for some upper-level income, the actual rate would be 32 percent. And in dollar terms, the reduction isn't as much as the President proposed or the House adopted, because the Senate bill also repeals more personal deductions. But for impact, the Packwood opening proved startling.

The full Senate will take up the bill early next month, when all the lobbyists who were shut out of the committee's final deliberations will flock back, hoping to save cherished tax advantages that the committee bill would remove.

By then, though, an unfamiliar new influence will be in place. For the first time, Senate sessions will be broadcast on nationwide television. On camera, senators may shy from reconstituting tax shelters and other preferences that are sharply curtailed by the committee bill.

Television may, likewise, encourage senators to rescue tax-exempt Individual Retirement Accounts, which the committee bill would terminate for most people. But the senators know that there is peril in departing from the committee formula. They must weigh the narrow "special interests" of the few against the broad special interests of tens of millions who would come out ahead in this plan.

When the Senate is done, a conference will negotiate a compromise bill. That's when the lobbyists will turn out full force, undeterred by television's sanitizing stare. In the end, the top rate may not be 27 percent, or 32 percent. But it's likely to be well under the House's 38 percent, and the array of deductions and exemptions will probably have been improved. Both bills have flaws that could stand cleaning up.

What's important is that there are now two good bills. Tax reform, which two weeks ago seemed to be gasping its last breath, now seems certain. That's a proud prospect for Congress and a progressive one for the nation.

Topics

Still in Circulation

The News That Was

With misplaced pride, NBC News last week presented a three-minute television interview with Mohammed Abbas, a widely sought planner of terror attacks. He used the opportunity to threaten Americans, clear up to President Reagan, with new attacks. Mr. Abbas has already been indicted in the United States for plotting the hijacking of a cruise ship that led to the murder of Leon Klinghoffer last October. He therefore demanded and obtained the network's promise not to reveal his whereabouts.

With misdirected anger, the State Department denounced NBC for giving Mr. Abbas the kind of publicity that "encourages the terrorist activities we're all seeking to deter." That judgment is not for Government to make. Publicity can encourage crime, but it can also deter it, arouse the public or help victims and their families win support. The real issue is whether the news value of such an interview justified the bargain.

On that ground NBC's judgment invites serious question. "Abbas is a newsmaker and we went after him hammer and tong," said NBC. Sure, but the news he has to make was not rhetorical. It was geographical — where is he hiding and how has he es-

caped detection? To let him spout his venom in exchange for protection from his many pursuers was a bad bargain that mistook noise for news.

Midlife Marvels

It's a thrill to watch a young athlete run faster, jump higher, pitch more strike-outs or slice microseconds off a swimming record. But it's also very much to be expected. Today's young champions, after all, are better fed and better trained than past record setters.

Therefore an extra cheer — if not even a few sentimental tears — when a past champion comes back to do it again. What a feast we've had lately. Jack Nicklaus won the Masters last month for the sixth time, at the age of 46. Bill "Willie" Inge of the Los Angeles Lakers' 39-year-old center. He was most valuable player in the championship last year, and is now making a good bid to repeat this year. On actual charts, these men are finished, over the hill, "old-timers." On our chart, they're a breed apart, skillfully

brushing past the well-fed youngsters, mysteriously oblivious to their own advancing years.

Political Tool

Stanley Friedman, the much-indicted Democratic boss of the Bronx, has an explanation for his legal troubles. "Republicans in Washington will do everything in their power to embarrass the Democratic Party in New York State," he told reporters at the annual dinner of the Bronx Democratic organization the other night. At most that might explain the Federal indictment charging that he shook down New York City agencies and made them racketeering enterprises. It wouldn't explain why Robert Morgenthau, the Democratic District Attorney in Manhattan, has obtained a state indictment.

Mr. Friedman ignores the dimensions of the plot. Did some Republicans scheme to have him cling gracelessly to his party post while under a legal cloud? Did they orchestrate a dinner that only the most subservient ward heelers dared attend? The only way Republicans could make so outlandish a plan work is with Mr. Friedman's cooperation. As long as he stays in office, they have it.

Letters

Put Atomic Reactors Under International Control

To the Editor:

Your April 30 editorial "Chernobyl's Other Cloud" stops short of reaching the ultimate and compelling conclusion that atomic reactors should come under international control. While full disclosure by the Russians is in this instance essential to understanding and combating the dangers unleashed, this would, nevertheless, not guarantee that future reactors are built to demanding and exacting standards.

The poisoned air of Chernobyl or of Three Mile Island or of Windscale, England, can have its effects all around the world. By what logic or morality do the industrial powers reserve to themselves the right to degrade a planet that belongs to the entire human family?

The decision to build nuclear reactors, much less the standards under which those reactors are to be built, should rest with an international commission of scientists empowered to license, supervise and enforce universal rules.

Such a proposal may have sounded utopian before the Chernobyl disaster, but can it now still be argued that national sovereignty and secrecy supersede survival of the earth? The danger is so great that we cannot speak of it in less than polemic terms.

The imponderables are so frightening as to compel the Russians, the United States and other industrial nations not only to cooperate, but also to control and regulate the uses of atomic energy internationally.

Who can say that the loss of some sovereignty and secrecy will not engender more trust and cooperation among the superpowers and eventually lead to total atomic disarmament?

MICHAEL S. SABADY
Fall River, Mass., May 1, 1986

To the Editor:

The nuclear-plant accident in the Soviet Union dramatically points up the immediate necessity of an international conference for drafting a treaty to establish standards for construction and safety of all future nuclear plants and that would also mandate immediate worldwide notification of a nuclear-plant accident.

As we have seen, the accident in the Soviet Union transcended national boundaries with atomic radiation spreading to countries beyond the Russian boundary.

Obviously, if there is a nuclear accident that carries with it the potential of radiation danger, each nation would want to assure for itself and its citizens that all precautions will be taken to prevent harmful exposure of

food products and of the inhabitants. Further, if an international treaty imposed extremely high safety standards for both plant construction and operation, future harmful accidents could be obviated, or at least minimized.

DONALD S. SHERWOOD
Elmhurst, N.Y., May 1, 1986

To the Editor:

The Chernobyl incident proves the absolute necessity of firm and independent regulation of nuclear power. What "Chernobyl's Other Cloud" failed to do was to name the regulatory agency to achieve that end. The International Atomic Energy Agency, a specialized agency of the United Nations, comes to mind. As the need for regulation is of an international nature, I believe that the I.A.E.A. is the most appropriate body to perform that function.

GEORGE P. KURIEN
Lisle, Ill., April 30, 1986

The writer is an engineer working for a Chicago-based nuclear-power-generation project.

To the Editor:

In the last 6 to 12 months many commentators have argued that deregulation of the airline industry has provided profit-maximizing companies with the impetus, indeed the need, to skimp on maintenance expenditures and thus endanger the traveling public. Although the evidence on this question does not seem to be conclusive as yet, the suggestion has frequently been that such behavior is a characteristic of the free-enterprise system operating without adequate supervision by wise and moral state regulators.

We now learn from the sad nuclear tragedy in the Chernobyl plant that the Soviet Union's wise and moral state agencies have built most of their nuclear plants without containment vessels and adequate shielding. The reasons for this are fairly obvious: the Russians face the same economic problem as everybody else, namely scarcity of resources. They too have to make choices, and it is foolish to suppose that, in a system neither accountable to an electorate nor subject to market discipline, these choices will be resolved in favor of saving human resources rather than inanimate ones.

I would still rather travel on U.S. airlines than sit downwind from Chernobyl.

RICHARD E. QUANDT
Chairman, Department of Economics
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J., May 1, 1986

The Birds Aren't Singing Again This Year

To the Editor:

Philip Shabecoff's April 21 news article on the environment and pesticides nearly a quarter-century after the publication of Rachel Carson's warnings in "The Silent Spring" should have been on page 1.

Anyone who thinks that a "silent spring" is not at hand has simply not been listening to the quiet at daybreak.

When we moved to this rural area 18 years ago, the bird song in April was such an exultant chorus that it awoke the entire household. Today, one can listen and listen at dawn and hear only a chirp or a trill here and there. Too little attention is being paid to this ominous development, which is getting progressively worse.

What are we doing to the world we live in when we bend our given intellectual energy toward ever-more efficient means of destroying our planet and ourselves? What will life be like for future generations without the songs of birds to cheer the heart



and brighten hope in springtime? Do we want a world for our children and grandchildren in which no birds sing?

JANE M. WEINMAN
Bedford, N.Y., April 28, 1986

Theological Opinions And Catholic Doctrine

To the Editor:

Sister Jeannine Gramick (letter, May 1) misstates the dispute between the Rev. Charles E. Curran and the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. It is simply a matter of truth in labeling. If Father Curran wants to teach doctrines that contradict the official teachings of the church, he is free to do so, but he should admit what he is doing and stop calling himself a Catholic.

As Pope John Paul II said in a recent talk, Catholics have a right to be taught authentic Catholic doctrine. We should not be given the opinions of dissenting theologians mislabeled as Catholic doctrine.

The idea that Catholics may legitimately reject any doctrine that has not been infallibly defined is nonsense. Teachings that are proximate to the faith or theologically certain are not the same as theological opinions. It has always been recognized that they require the assent of the faithful, even though they have not been formally defined.

Sister Jeannine says that if the church insists Father Curran teach only Catholic doctrine to continue having the title of a Catholic theologian, contributions will decrease. I think that, on the contrary, a strong reaffirmation of orthodoxy will lead to increased contributions, but that is irrelevant. I am appalled she should even raise the argument.

Bishops have a responsibility to prevent teaching of false doctrine (1 Tim. 1:3). Any bishop who shirked that duty for fear that insisting on orthodoxy leads to reduced contributions would be following the example of Judas, selling out Christ's truth for mere money.

MARTIN W. HELGESEN
Malverne, L.I., May 3, 1986

Why Arab Moderates Don't Disown Qaddafi

To the Editor:

As a Palestinian woman who would qualify as a "moderate" (despite reservations about the term), I would like to answer Ze'ev Chafets, who asks why Arab "moderates" have not distanced themselves from Muammar el-Qaddafi (Op-Ed, April 20).

We find it hard to distance ourselves because we believe the Qaddafi threat has been exaggerated by President Reagan and amplified by the media. Because we do not condone the murder of infants anywhere by anybody we despise Mr. Reagan and Larry Speakes — because the killing of Colonel Qaddafi's child made them feel big, and they unabashedly called the bombing carnage "a success."

We think the real issue is President Reagan's selective morality in dealing with countries all over the world. For instance, we are sure he knew that President Ferdinand E. Marcos and Mrs. Marcos were not living on Social Security before the U.S. participated in their downfall and long before Ted Koppel got mileage out of Imelda Marcos's shoes and other assorted goodies. We are also sure the U.S. Administration knew that Haiti's President Jean-Claude Duvalier did not qualify for sainthood long before he was chased out with U.S. help.

We do not distance ourselves, and we do not cheer for President Reagan, who calls Colonel Qaddafi a "mad dog," but has the gall to call South Africa's arch-racist President "Mr. Botha."

ORAYB NAJJAR
Ramallah, West Bank, April 22, 1986

The writer is a lecturer in journalism at Bir Zeit University.

To the Editor:

Press comments on the United States reprisals in Libya have covered

a wide range of views, but echoes of "From the Halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli" have been absent, despite striking parallels.

Our first foreign military action as a nation, ordered by President Jefferson in 1801, was reprisal for 18th-century state terrorism (piracy). It resulted in naval bombardments of Tripoli and its harbor, was not supported by European fellow-sufferers, and its result was inconclusive at best, despite heroes like Stephen Decatur and slogans like "not a cent for tribute." The villain, Pasha Yusuf, survived our cannon balls and our sponsored insurrection.

ROBERT BERINGER
New Haven, May 2, 1986

Inflation-Rate COLA For Social Security

To the Editor:

One of the major reasons for instituting the automatic cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security in the early 1970's was to remove the system from election-year politics. So it is distressing to see that, once again, Social Security is being dragged into the political fray ("To Buy the Votes of the Elderly," editorial, April 8).

The best way to remove that political temptation is to lower the artificial "trigger" level permanently. Social Security is much too important for millions of Americans to have it become a political football whenever the inflation rate dips below 3 percent. While efforts to waive the inflation trigger for 1986 are welcome, they only highlight the political vulnerability of the program. The trigger should be lowered permanently, and Social Security COLA's should be pegged to what the general inflation rate is.

While single-digit inflation rates are good news for all Americans, it must be remembered that COLA's are not a gift or a "bonus," as you call them. The COLA's simply keep the benefit whole, no matter what the inflation rate.

Finally, it must be remembered that Social Security is an important family-protection program that does much more than simply provide cash-income support for older Americans. Widows of all ages, disabled workers and more than three million children all benefit from Social Security.

CYRIL F. BRICKFIELD
Executive Director
American Assn. of Retired Persons
Washington, April 18, 1986

Weapons Should Be Subject to Renegotiation

To the Editor:

"How to Buy Better Weapons" (editorial, April 18) should be "How Better to Buy Better Weapons." Your editorial is fine and to the point, but it doesn't go far enough. When Harry S. Truman was in the Senate, he had a splendid idea: war-material contracts should be subject to renegotiation.

So price-adjustment boards were set up in the War Department, Navy and Air Force. I was the second employee of the War Department board. Soon, a large staff of dedicated Wall Street types, corporation lawyers and accountants, bankers and others signed on, charged with the duty of preventing excessive profit for companies supplying the three services. At first, there was opposition from some manufacturers and many publications. However, General Motors was a shining example, leading the patriotic way toward reasonable profits and away from gouging. Staff members were mature and definitely private entrepreneurs.

Fairness to suppliers and to the Government was always the aim. In due course, suppliers and the media saw the wisdom of the Truman idea. It worked. In 1944 I put out a news release, widely used, to the effect that

the War Department had "recovered" \$2 billion in excess profits. The other two services had similar results. Call it approximately \$6 billion, and translate that into today's value of the dollar.

A bill has been drawn to re-establish a similar board under the Department of Defense. But there is reluctance in Congress to take the idea seriously, despite the fact that it could well help win the battle of the budget. It would seem to be worth a try. Nothing else seems to be working.

ELIOT H. SHARP
Brooklyn, April 18, 1986

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WASHINGTON | James Reston

A Week to Remember

WASHINGTON In the first week of May 1986 there were some glimpses of common sense in the world, even some signs of cooperation between the quarrelling nations and politicians. It may not last, but it was a week to remember.

The Senate, for example, in a remarkable sign of bipartisan support for long-overdue tax reform, voted for it 20 to 0. President Reagan gave it his blessing and so did the leaders of the business community meeting in Hot Springs, Va. It was almost as if they were voting for Mother's Day.

Also, in a moving tribute to the judgment and integrity of one of its members, the Senate voted unanimously in support of Senator Barry Goldwater's motion for the most sweeping reform of the Defense Department in 39 years.

For those in this corner and elsewhere who have been inclined in recent years to think that personal, political and special concerns always dominate the national interest, these two events are reassuring.

For most of his long and distinguished career in the Senate and as the Republican Party's Presidential nominee, Mr. Goldwater has been the most faithful and even fierce advocate of a strong military defense. He has come to believe that Pentagon reform is as important as tax reform, and has devoted his last term in the Senate to that objective.

He convinced his colleagues, against the judgment of the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that reform was necessary, and when they backed him unanimously and moved to pass the "Barry Goldwater Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986," he stood on crutches in the well of the Senate and protested its naming.

A good idea gains some ground

The Senate overruled him. "Damn!" he said. "The hell with it. When you get old, you get to the point where you can't say 'thank you.' I'll just shut up and let you do what you want."

Later, he settled down and told a few reporters that his Pentagon reform bill was the best thing he had done in the Senate. "Now I can go home happy, sit on my hill and shoot jack rabbits."

There's a popular complaint these days that the people are helpless against the power of events, that institutions are beyond their control, and that personal convictions and voices don't mean much. But there's at least some evidence on the other side.

The tax reform bill is a case in point. For years, all across the political spectrum, there has been general agreement that the old system was a complicated and unfair mess, but that nothing could be done about it because of the power of the special-interest lobbies.

But a few stubborn characters kept hammering away for tax reform. Among them were Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri. Senator Bob Packwood, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, finally took up the battle and persuaded his colleagues that they had more to gain by defying the lobbyists and voting the public interest.

It's this idea that has gained some ground, namely that maybe more progress is to be made at home and even abroad by cooperation than by fierce competition.

American business leaders are beginning to understand that Japan's success is the result of cooperation between government, management and labor. General Motors, for example, is now experimenting with a joint management-labor agreement to produce a new car in Tennessee.

And even the leaders of the industrial nations, meeting on the first week of May in Tokyo, agreed, not much but some, that they couldn't deal with world terror or finance or trade alone, but should consult together and cooperate more than they had in the past.

Unfortunately, at first the Russians didn't understand this unavoidable relationship among the nations when their nuclear reactor blew up in the Ukraine; they couldn't control the deadly cloud drifting across their borders so they tried to control the news, and found they couldn't control that either.

So lately, they have been blaming the West as usual, but also calling for its help to put out the fire and help with the children.

Both at home and abroad, then, maybe it was useful that this week some problems came to a crisis and a few politicians faced up to them and called for correction. We may now get a little more cooperation on tax reform, defense reform and terror control, for it's increasingly obvious that none of these basic problems can be resolved only by party or even national policy. In the first week of May, that idea seemed to be making progress.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

Japan's Moral Crossroads

TOKYO Japan is the first underdeveloped country to vault the dividing line and suddenly to confront the problems of wealth. That is provoking a fascinating self-examination, particularly within the rising power structure. These are mostly men between 40 and 50 years old, whom some call the "neo-new leaders."

The Japanese don't feel rich. They habitually prefer the traditional "low profile," seeking safety in the profession of modesty and weakness. But leaders know there is a new reality bringing resentment in the rest of the world. They sense the need to adapt.

There is also a striking internal generation gap. Takashi Hosomi, who heads the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, Japan's foreign-aid agency, looked out the plate-glass window of his well-appointed high-story office onto a scene of gleaming skyscrapers and automobile-clogged streets.

"We grew up in the poverty of Japan. We lived in ruins," he said. "Our children are growing up in the richness of Japan. There's a very different atmosphere."

He is worried that without a change of social climate and development of a generally accepted new outlook, there will be "two kinds of Japanese and we won't know our identity." The pampered, satisfied young won't know how to compete, how to struggle, if the country doesn't open up to the world, he continued. "There is a danger they will want to close up for protection and will turn nationalist."

The code word for the reformers' aim is "internationalization." It means a lot more than buying foreign goods, traveling abroad, making an appearance on the world power scene. People tend to focus on economics "be-

New wealth confronts tradition

cause this is an economic country," said another leader. But there are deep cultural and moral undertones in the debate, a fear of losing old values without establishing sturdy new ones.

Shuzaburo Takeda, an enthusiastic, worldly young professor whose hobby is advising politicians, pointed out that "for a long time, our goal has been to catch up with the world. We worked very hard, and we've done it. Now, we must find a new goal. We live in a four-dimensional world, time keeps moving and we must move with it."

Kazu Ouchi, a member of the Diet and also a neo-new leader, talked about the need for a new philosophy to enlarge a spiritual history based on the virtues of thrift and diligence in a climate of need. "We have to think about the meaning of wealth. No country has been destroyed by poverty, but many have been ruined through wealth."

These thoughts are not yet resounding in public discourse. For the moment, all the talk is about the damage that the free-rising yen is doing to the jobs and businesses that depend on exports. The mood is aggrieved. There is little talk about benefits from a strong yen, the cheaper imports, lower consumer prices, more non-inflationary growth.

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is taking most of the blame. He was expected to deliver a promise from Presi-

dent Reagan to intervene in support of the dollar at the economic summit. Perhaps there was a misunderstanding during his recent meeting with Mr. Nakasone is the most prominent advocate of "internationalization," the program will be set back if he is driven from power later this year. The Japanese paradox is that it takes a strong outside stimulus to move the society, but if change comes before people have digested the idea, they get angry and balk.

"This is a collectivist society based on capitalism," a veteran Western observer suggested. Yet the reformers' underlying notion is that their country needs to spur individual creativity, individual enterprise, even at the cost of breaking the conformist mold and accepting more diversity. They speak of remaking the educational system to allow for more "irregularity."

Perhaps someday other struggling countries will reach Japan's enviable embarrassment of riches. For now, there are no guidelines, no models for Japan to follow, as is its custom. Western economics has theories about how to spur growth in times of recession, and how to fight inflation, but not about how to deal with doing comparatively too well.

The obvious answer when riches become a burden is to give them away. Other people's poverty can distract the mind from the dangers of excess. But as one leader pointed out, the Christian tradition of charity is not a part of the Confucian order. Japan will have to learn about giving, as well as earning.

It should be a better world when many more countries achieve Japan's dilemma, but it won't be without problems. Japan's moral crossroads is a first example.

10 Years Later, the Legacy of the Moscow Helsinki Group

By Jeri Laber

It was 10 years ago tomorrow that several daring Soviet citizens got together and formed a group to monitor human rights in the Soviet Union. They knew they were courting disaster by challenging a state that tolerates no challenges, and in the decade since that day they have paid an enormous personal price for their activities. Nevertheless, even as their suffering continues, they have made a stunning contribution to the cause of freedom and peace within and between nations.

The 11 founding members of the Moscow Helsinki Group sought to profit from an ephemeral spirit of détente. They were heartened by the fact that the Soviet Government, after signing the Helsinki Final Act in Finland in August 1975, had published the full text of the agreement — with its explicit commitment to human rights — in Pravda and Izvestia. They saw in the Helsinki accords a guarantee of their right to speak out in defense of their beleaguered countrymen.

Yuri Orlov, the 51-year-old pipe-smoking physicist who became chairman of the group, had curly red hair, a freckled complexion and a youthful, energetic style. More idealist than ideologue, he envisaged a movement for human rights involving citizens in each of the 35 countries that had signed the Helsinki accords. He was

Jeri Laber is executive director of Helsinki Watch, a human rights organization.

arrested nine months after the group was founded and served seven years in a labor camp. One photograph, sent from the miserable hut where he is now living in Siberian exile, shows a transformed man — white-haired with a haggard, ravaged face, aged not by time but by the suffering that he has endured in a manmade hell of physical cruelty and broken dreams.

The Moscow Helsinki Group lasted little more than six years, until it was

disbanded under pressure in September 1982. The 22 men and women who officially joined its ranks, some courageously signing up even as others were being arrested, have all been punished for the "crime" of defending the rights of others. Nine are now in the West. Twelve have been tried and sentenced for their activities, and seven of them are still in prison or in

internal exile, along with some 30 other monitors from other Helsinki groups formed in the image of the Moscow Group. The Moscow Group included people whose names are known in the West — like Yelena Bonner, Aleksandr Ginzburg and Anatoly B. Shcharansky — but also others less known, like Tanya Osipova and her husband, Ivan Kovalyov, a couple

now in their 30's who are spending their youth in labor camps, separated from each other and the world.

In its brief existence, the Moscow Helsinki Group published 195 well-documented reports on human rights abuses within the Soviet Union. And although it has been formally disbanded, its work continues today, as courageous men and women continue

to send reports of human rights violations to the West, working clandestinely and at great personal risk. The group's achievements also go beyond the actual work it produced.

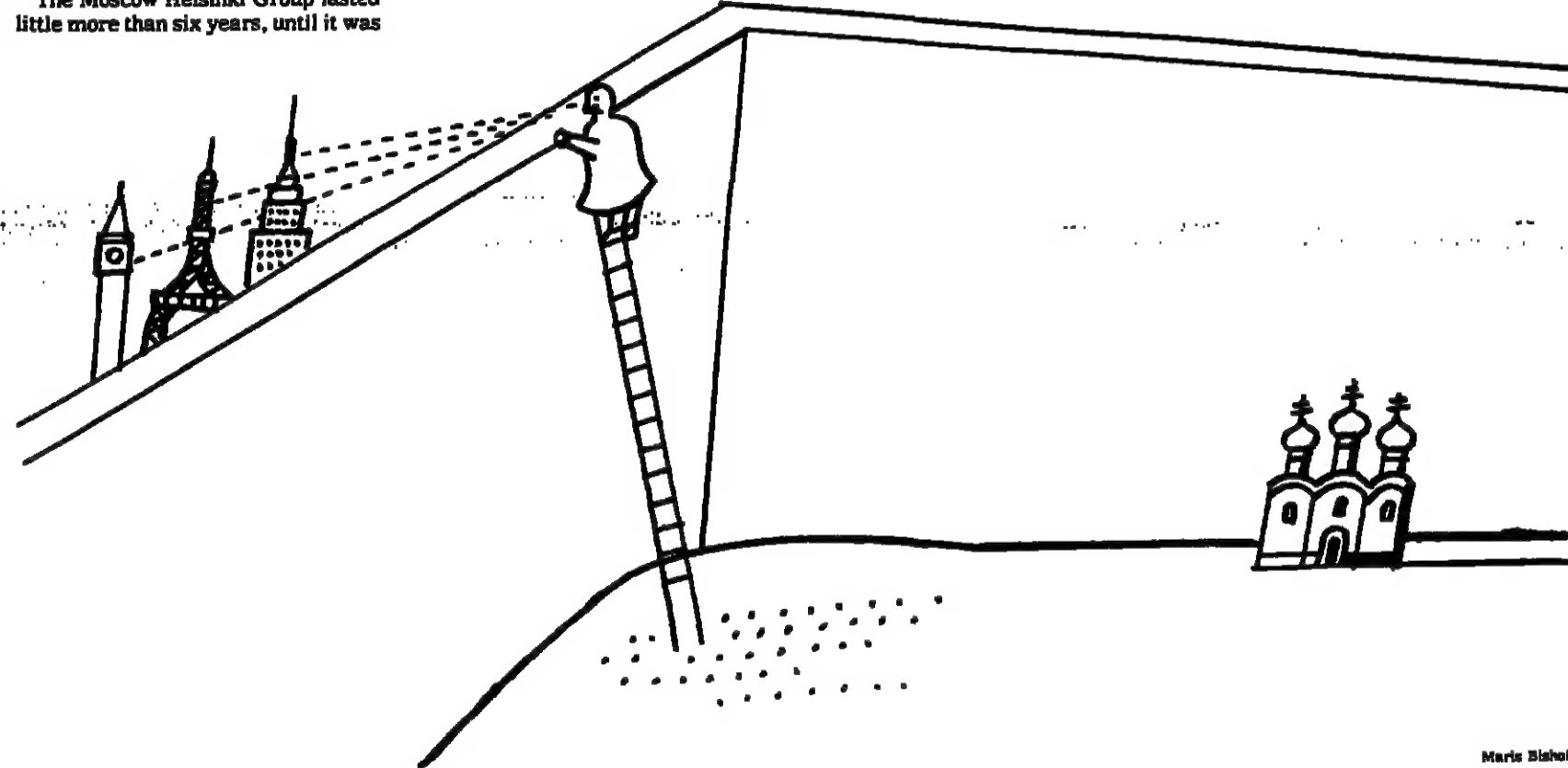
The Moscow Helsinki monitors dramatized the Helsinki accords, giving them life through personal sacrifice. They thus effectively transformed the Helsinki agreement, which includes provisions about security and economic cooperation, into a human rights document.

They launched a Helsinki movement that spread to other countries — to Czechoslovakia and Poland, where persecuted Helsinki groups persevere to this day, and to the West, where there are now Helsinki monitoring groups in some 10 countries.

They drew worldwide attention to the link between the promotion of peace and respect for human rights. As a result, Western governments came to see that a country's oppression of its own citizens is not an "internal matter" but one that directly affects international trust and understanding.

They helped make human rights an issue in East-West relations and a significant factor in United States foreign policy around the world.

Most important, the Helsinki monitors demonstrated that a basic desire for free expression and individual rights has not been stifled in the Soviet Union, even among a generation raised under totalitarianism. They endowed the human rights movement with moral dignity. By viewing "Helsinki" as a symbol of hope, they made it a force for freedom and for peace.



The Practice of Theory

By Robert Coles

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Every year at graduation time, hundreds of thousands of young men and women sit through ceremonies in which they are congratulated, exhorted, warned, given prophecies or promises. For many of the graduates, the words spoken by officials or teachers or honored guests are quite familiar — a celebration, often enough, of the intellectual life: its assumptions, purposes, opportunities. For years, those young men and women have been immersed in that life — trying to do the best job possible, and hoping thereby to gain the best possible footing in the so-called real world where grownups live.

A senior about to graduate from Harvard College recently wrote for me a vivid account of how such an education can go in contemporary America: "I've been at this game for so long! I wonder whether I'll ever really do anything else! My mother coached me to get me into the 'right' nursery, and then into the 'right' school. The more A's I've got, the better I've felt. When I've gotten a low grade in a course all the worries get started: what will it mean for my future? I remember how we sorted ourselves in school: he got 600's in his S.A.T.'s; she was a whiz — she got 700's. You get stamped with numbers and letters. Even the extracurricular activities are part of this competitive rat race. You calculate what to do with an eye on what will impress the admissions people. But it really does bother me sometimes, when I stop and realize that I've learned how to think, to talk a good line, but a lot of

Robert Coles is a child psychiatrist who teaches at Harvard University.

Thoughts at graduation time

the time I don't live up to what I know and say. There's a gap there — between the 'me' that's my grades and my 'record' and the 'me' who is living my life from one day to the next."

He has been torn between his desire to make purchases, live well, get ahead, on the one hand, and on the other, a certain idealism that won't let go of him. In his own way, he had managed to give a contemporary expression to the message Ralph Waldo Emerson offered Harvard students 150 years ago in his well-known "American Scholar" address: that intellect and character are by no means the same, hence the sad instances, not rare, of exceedingly learned people who are quite as selfish and mean-spirited as any of their intellectual inferiors. Perhaps the most trenchant analysis of this common split in our lives was rendered by William Carlos Williams in his extended lyrical examination of 20th century American life. The poet keeps remarking on the distance between the values and policies we espouse and the way we actually live our lives. Ideas, however convincingly stated, all too often don't get worked into conduct — for Williams a sad and important irony that he kept insisting we ought to consider carefully, "especially at graduation ceremonies," he once remarked, "mindful of the inflated righteousness (if not the self-righteousness) that

such occasions sometimes inspire.

Like Williams, the student quoted here liked to read poems; he had a mixed major — philosophy and English. By his senior year, he had learned a painful lesson — that neither philosophers nor literary critics nor professors nor (by their own admission) distinguished poets nor novelists are necessarily any better off ethically than the rest of us in their personal lives. He'd read Walker Percy's description of a character (in "The Second Coming") who "get's all A's and flunks life," and, indeed, had constructed his own Cambridge version of that description — himself as the one who "get's A's in courses called 'moral analysis' in the catalogue," but then finds himself, to his occasional but not deterring regret, "a pretty clever hustler lots of times."

Students are quick (and right) to notice the hypocrisy of their elders, their teachers — a number of whom talk a great line and let matters rest there. Some students even see what is in store for themselves — to join the ranks of those who don't practice what they preach. Many students hunger not only for moral theory but for moral experience — for a way to put learned thoughts and principles into action. Such an approach is "not the purpose of schools and colleges," one hears, as if one doesn't learn by doing as well as by reading a book, and as if the two are necessarily antagonistic. Meanwhile, more than enough of us teachers fall victim to the worst sins of the academy. We turn smug and self-important; our rhetoric soars, but is not grounded in the concreteness of a life's examples. The students watch, amused or skeptical or derisive — but may not realize how near they might possibly be to following suit.

Terror vs. the Third World

By Pranay Gupte

In the fight against terrorism, there can be no such thing as nonalignment. Terrorism is a cancer that has afflicted developing countries as much as it has hurt the West.

Even as the leaders of the industrial democracies were meeting in Tokyo last week to discuss terrorism, bombs went off in Sri Lanka, killing some 15 people in Colombo. The authorities blamed Tamil separatists — Marxist-led terrorists who have long been financed by Libya. Terrorist violence cropped up again last week in India's strategic Punjab state, where Sikh separatists — also reportedly helped by Libya and others — want their own nation. In virtually every region of the third world, there is evidence of meddling by Libya or by the other major patrons of terrorism, Syria and Iran, who particularly target governments that do not subscribe to their brand of radicalism or who are sympathetic to democracy and Washington.

It is time for the leading industrial nations most concerned with terrorism to join hands with like-minded governments in the third world. The fight against terrorism has to be a global fight, not merely one designed to protect Western interests. The consensus on terrorism reached in Tokyo may tacitly encourage some third world states to stiffen their own approach against terrorism, but it will need a fresh infusion of resources from the West to encourage hesitant governments to accelerate their own domestic efforts against foreign-supported terrorism.

Pranay Gupte is completing a book on political and economic development in the third world.

Westerners are often puzzled as to why third world governments do not speak out more forcefully against international terrorism. In the aftermath of the American bombing of Libya, for instance, third world leaders predictably rallied behind Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi and excoriated the United States. Their rhetoric reflected the third world's obsession with two shibboleths — solidarity and nationalism. The rhetoric was also partly explained by the fear that Colo-

Developing countries cannot afford to sit on the fence

nel Qaddafi evokes and by the wish not to be seen as siding with the Reagan Administration.

Yet third world leaders now must choose. They can remain victims of their own timorousness, or they can band together against the kind of revolutionary terrorism that Colonel Qaddafi and others have foisted on the world's poor countries.

The consequences of Libyan, Syrian and Iranian interference in third world states go beyond the violence that it generates. Such support of terrorist groups forces many third world governments to be more authoritarian with their populations. In Sri Lanka, for example, the freely

elected, pro-Western Government has had to assume stern emergency powers to counter Tamil terrorism.

Moreover, fighting terrorism requires stepped-up expenditures for military and paramilitary forces — monies that most poor third world countries can ill afford. And because combating terrorism requires increased reliance on military measures, the center of political gravity often moves toward the armed forces.

It may be unrealistic to assume that the third world's leaders will suddenly isolate Colonel Qaddafi and other sponsors of terrorism, but that is exactly what they must attempt to do if they are to protect themselves and the fragile stability of their nations. A strong stand against terrorism need not imply jettisoning the notions of third world solidarity and nationalism. These leaders must remember that their backyards will continue to be the bloodstained battle zone for terrorist activities, even if those activities are largely aimed at Western interests. Moreover, third world countries that do not cooperate more forthrightly in the fight against international terrorism may well find that the much-needed capital and technology they get from the West will shrink as a result.

The nonaligned movement, whose leaders will soon hold a summit meeting in Zimbabwe, can lead the way in issuing an unqualified call against terrorism. The industrialized countries should encourage this effort, with more money, better exchanges of intelligence and stronger political support. But in the end, it is up to the nonaligned leaders to mobilize third world support for international law-enforcement agencies cracking down on terrorist networks that find havens in their own backyards.

Liverpool Spawns Vibrant Movie

By LESLIE BENNETTS

Teresa — a platinum-haired blonde given to wearing skintight dresses and fire-engine red lipstick — works in a chicken factory where her job consists of removing a chicken's innards, wrapping the parts and stuffing them back up the chicken, a task she herself describes in considerably raunchier terms.

Her friend Elaine can't even find that distasteful a job; unemployed and on the dole, she is unable to work in economically depressed Liverpool and too poor to go anywhere else.

And so a night on the town and on the prowl seems like the only escape, albeit a temporary one in which the ingredients of romance are a stolen bottle of vodka and two Russian sailors on shore leave.

Thus begins "Letter to Brezhnev," a quirky new British film that has garnered enthusiastic reviews on both sides of the Atlantic for its wryly affectionate portrait of a gritty contemporary milieu rarely seen by American moviegoers. Made for very little money by a group of destitute young Liverpudlians with no previous film-making experience, the movie combines an absorbingly idiosyncratic content with a provocative point of view.

"Letter to Brezhnev" was literally a family affair: written by Frank Clarke for his sister Margi, who plays Teresa, and Margi's best friend, Alexandra Pigg, who plays Elaine, the film was directed by another close friend, Chris Bernard. Shot in three weeks in neighborhood streets and the homes of friends, it features a third Clarke sibling, Angela, as Elaine's onscreen sister. Co-starring are Peter Firth, also a longtime friend, and Alfred Molina as the Russian seamen, Peter and Sergei. "I sometimes call us Incest & Company, because we've all known each other so long and lived in this tiny place," says Mr. Bernard.

But the film's thesis ranges considerably farther afield. Elaine and Peter spend a dreamy, innocent night together, and before leaving the next day to sail away, Peter impulsively tells Elaine that he loves her and wants to marry her. From then on, she is haunted by the idea of escaping into such an adventure, which glows like a beacon in her bleak, impoverished life. Her family is horrified by Elaine's growing determination to go to the Soviet Union and rejoin her love; Russia is not free, they tell her. But neither is she, she reasons: without money or prospects, Elaine be-



Peter Firth and Alexandra Pigg in "Letter to Brezhnev," made by a group of destitute young Liverpudlians

lieves herself to be as much a prisoner as any Soviet citizen.

The idea for the film arrived in a sudden burst of inspiration for Frank Clarke, a 30-year-old who speaks in a thick, vividly idiomatic Liverpool accent. "I was just sitting in my minty little bed set — minty means deprived, smelly, dirty — which I was sharing with my cat and my dog and my budgerigar, and I didn't have any money for cigarettes or anything, and all I could read about was all this anti-Russian feeling that was building up," explains Mr. Clarke. "I thought, why should we be afraid of the Russians, just because we're told to be? And I was thinking about that, and about all these girls who worked the ships down by the docks. They weren't prostitutes; they just wanted a night of romance and adventure. I had never written anything before,

but I just had this kind of mental vomit. It came out in one big explosion. I just wrote the whole thing in two weeks."

Mr. Clarke's point of view was profoundly influenced by his own family's experience. One of 10 children who grew up in a three-bedroom house, Mr. Clarke is the son of a stevedore driven out of work by the demise of the local shipping and manufacturing industries.

"When Thatcher got in and forced most industries to close down, this beautiful River Mersey became a ghost river," Mr. Clarke says.

"There's hardly any ships now. There are a lot of poor people that are very depressed. And I thought, life in Russia can't be any worse than living on the dole in Liverpool. They restrict your movements over there? Well, over here, to restrict your move-

ments, you're just not given any work or any money. Over there they have food queues; here we don't have any food. You just go without. My dad's worked all me life; my parents had 10 kids, and they had a really hard life, and just when he was finally getting on his feet and making a decent wage, it was suddenly all closed down overnight. It affected me an awful lot. Work gives people a bit of dignity, a bit of pride, no matter what the wages. But it wasn't just my father; it happened to most people's fathers."

Indeed, the same kind of hardship befell Chris Bernard's father, who had worked as a ship's cook. "When you see a strong, fit, healthy man who's worked for 30 years and it's suddenly taken away from him, the effect is frightful," observes Mr. Bernard, who is also 30.

Alexandra Pigg's experience was similar. Her father worked in a car factory, "putting bits on cars," she says, and her mother worked in a pastry factory. "But then both of their factories closed down," the 23-year-old actress reports. "Most of the factories in Liverpool closed down. At the moment, both me parents are unemployed. It's like the movie: everyone's on the dole. So I found the whole thing very easy to relate to. Frank wrote the two parts in the movie for Margi and me, and we've been best friends for a long time, so the whole thing was all mates working together. When you haven't got any money to pay anybody, you have to ask your mates. There's so much unemployment in Liverpool, and a lot of talent; there are so many people wanting to work that even if you don't get paid, you want to do something."

Miss Pigg sees the film's plot in purely personal terms. "It's just a story about working-class people and the position they're in," she says. "We're not trying to make any political statements. It's just that these people are all on the dole, and the dole is impossible to live on. They can't do this, they can't do that, because they've got no money. They're trapped, in a sense. People talk about Russia and how the Russians have no freedom, but from Elaine's point of view, if she could go to Russia, at least it's an adventure. If you're living in a place where there are no prospects for you, you don't see yourself as having any future. You don't look forward to anything or plan anything, so that when a situation like this does crop up, suddenly you've got something to look forward to. You've got a challenge; you've got a future."

"I hope people don't think we're a bunch of Commies," Mr. Clarke

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adds. "We're just ordinary scallies. That's an abbreviation of scalliwag; it's used for people who are poor and just get by, but want to have a good time."

Despite Elaine's decision to defect, the film makers say they did not intend "Letter to Brezhnev" as an endorsement of the Soviet society, only as a portrait of their own. "I'm English, I'm very patriotic, and I love England," says Mr. Bernard. "There's no way I would support the Russian system. I think it's absolutely disgusting. However, so is my own."

Many of the film's details were drawn directly from real life. Mr. Bernard had actually held a job stuffing chickens in a factory, like the character Teresa. The flamboyant Margi Clarke — who sports spiky platinum hair and equally spiky high heels — has worked as a punk comedienne, as a singer in Paris, as a switchboard operator and in a bed factory, stuffing not chickens but pillows. The mother of a 9-year-old son, Miss Clarke was very much the inspiration for Teresa, who is described by Frank Clarke as "a tart with a heart."

Many details are drawn directly from life.

Miss Pigg, a quieter, dark-haired young woman, has worked on British soap operas as well as dancing in clubs where her routines included wrestling with a seven-foot python. Mr. Clarke has written for British television and has also worked as an actor, his roles ranging from the back end of a horse to a jack-in-the-box who jumped into a vat of tomato ketchup. "We've all led pretty interesting lives, learning how to survive," Mr. Bernard remarks.

Just as Teresa pushes Elaine to take a daring leap of faith in the movie, Miss Clarke has pushed Miss Pigg in life-altering directions. "I've known Margi since I was 14 years old," reports Miss Pigg, who began to act when Miss Clarke told her she ought to go to drama school.

Peter Firth, well-known for his starring roles in such films as "Tess" and "Equus," decided to participate in the making of "Letter to Brezhnev" because, despite the project's dire lack of funds, he simply wanted to do the material. "I loved it right from the start," says Mr. Firth. "It's got all the things I like in movies; it's funny, sad, romantic, sexy. I thought the screenplay was more realistic than anything I'd seen in a long time."

"Letter to Brezhnev" was shot for only \$70,000, but despite the compromises imposed by such a budget, the film makers firmly believe that interesting work can be done under such conditions. "You don't have to throw lots of money at a film to make a good one," says Mr. Clarke.

Because the movie has been successful, their prospects for the future will surely be more comfortable, but even so they vow not to go overboard. "I don't want to make a big budget movie," says Mr. Bernard. "I don't believe it's necessary. Although I'd like to shoot a film in 35 millimeter instead of 16, and maybe have six weeks next time instead of three," he adds wistfully.

In addition to their own dreams of glory, the film makers also hope to inspire some of their peers back home in Liverpool. "If you leave school at 16 and there's nothing to do, and you get to be 25 and you've never had a job, your spirit's being killed," says Miss Pigg. "The inspiration's gone, and you think differently."

That grim reality is all too close to home. Of Margi and Frank Clarke's many siblings, one sister has a job making envelopes, but the others are all unemployed. "People just hang around," says Miss Clarke. "What we've been trying to do, very consciously, is to tell people to make Liverpool the Hollywood of Britain. That's one way Liverpool can join in. The media is the new factories; we just want people to be able to have what are basically middle-class jobs, as technicians and all."

She herself knows well the importance of dreams. "When I had my son and I said, 'Okay, God, if you let me make it, I'll take 50 into the lifeboat with me,'" Miss Clarke recalls. She smiles, her garishly painted lips revealing crooked teeth. "The worst poverty is poverty of the imagination," she says softly.

Vanessa Redgrave's New Role Makes a Man of Her

By MICHAEL BILLINGTON

A tall, crew-cut, broad-shouldered man smashes a tennis ball over a net with enviable power; an attractive brunette weaves in and out of Manhattan traffic, attracting admiring glances, before settling into a coffee shop. Both are the same person: Dr. Richard Bradley who underwent a well-publicized sex-change operation to become Renee Richards. What is equally astonishing is that the two images coalesce in the person of the actress Vanessa Redgrave, who stars in a two-hour CBS-TV presentation, "Second Serve," directed by Anthony Page from a script principally by Gavin Lambert and produced for Lorimar Films by Linda Yellen. It will be shown Tuesday.

The popular image of Miss Redgrave is of a political firebrand whose pro-Palestinian sympathies have stirred controversy and headlines. But she is, above all, a dedicated actress who since 1958 (when she made her London theatrical debut) has combined classical stage roles with films and television. From her actor-father, Sir Michael Redgrave, she has inherited a Stanislavski-based quest for truth and a blazing emotional intensity; from her actress-mother, Rachel Kempson, a look of slightly sorrowful beauty.

What distinguishes her further is her ability to portray tough-minded, independent women rather than passive heroines. To even a second-rank script, she will bring a sense of total involvement; 15 years ago, when playing the title role in the Hal Wallis costume-movie "Mary, Queen of Scots," she persuaded herself, according to interviews at the time, that the film was really about social and economic forces in Tudor society. Over the years, the results have been even more convincing in projects with stronger scripts, such as "The Bostonians" and "Wuthering" on the screen and "The Seagull" on the London stage. And, remarkably enough, she has carried over the same impassioned fervor to her recent work on American television.

"I don't share the snobbish attitude that exists toward TV as a medium," she said recently during an interview in her London flat. "I think that is peculiar to Britain. From my own experience I know that American television handles a lot of major stories. Arthur Miller's 'Playing for Time' dealt with conditions inside Auschwitz with total accuracy. 'Three Sovereigns for Sarah' tackled the Salem witch-trials and showed they had as much to do with land and poverty as with collective hysteria. And

recently I was in 'Peter the Great,' which was a history of epic proportions and had one extraordinary scene in which Peter questions Isaac Newton about the nature of the infinite. It was a moment when the art and craft of all concerned gave you an insight into history."

Her unquestioning commitment is not always shared by critics, even though her performances generally have been praised. But the singular quality of Miss Redgrave is that she does not make a distinction between her work for stage and television: she views playing Renee Richards with the same seriousness as she does Shakespeare's Cleopatra and Katharina, which she will undertake at London's Haymarket Theater later this month. She also puts realism before vanity. Her once-cascading pre-Raphaelite hair is now a short, reddish crop — a result of her preparation for playing the masculine side of a transsexual.

The TV film is based on Renee Richards's own book, "Second Serve": the story of a Yale tennis champion, naval officer, husband and father who underwent transsexual surgery, became a tennis pro, coached Martina Navratilova and now has a busy public and private practice as a Manhattan eye-surgeon. But playing the dual roles before the probing eye of the camera is a daunting prospect even for an actress who clearly relishes challenge. What persuaded Miss Redgrave to do it?

"I wasn't sure," she said, "when I read the script. But Linda Yellen sent me Renee's book and I was so impressed by her story and the sort of person she obviously was that I wanted to do it. The book was so different from the received images you get from the press. The story also threw light on a lot more problems than that of Renee Richards herself and raised the whole question of sexual stereotyping."

"As with Lillian Hellman and 'Julia,'" she continued, "I didn't meet the person I was playing till after the film. That's because Renee is a top eye-surgeon in a Manhattan hospital and couldn't abandon her patients for the sake of the film. But that may be just as well, because I didn't set out to copy her. I wanted to get the spirit of her."

Research on the role took many different forms: reading, talking to transsexuals and Renee's tennis colleagues, watching TV programs. "I was struck," said Miss Redgrave, "by the way ordinary people were much more sympathetic than the media to the problems Renee Richards faced. I watched a tape of a Phil Donahue show with Renee, and I was struck both by how badly he treated her and by the dignity and seriousness with which she responded to his questions."

Playing this dual role also confronted Miss Redgrave with an infinite number of technical acting problems. She had to instinctively assume the deportment, carriage and behavior of a man, extend her vocal range, improve her tennis game from that of rusty amateur to acceptable professional, transform her appearance (she wears a wig only when playing Renee) and call up memories of her own years of sexual awkwardness.

She recalled that, as a six-foot-tall teen-ager in the 1950's, she was made to feel unwomanly and, if dancing with someone, was obliged to feel she should take the male role. "But the most difficult thing for me as an actress," she said, "was trying to understand and put myself into this woman's shoes. The fact that Renee was a woman trapped inside a man's body meant I wasn't having to identify with a man spiritually and mentally, merely physically. As Renee says in the book, when making love as Richard she understood what a woman wanted. And for me that was the key to playing her truthfully. I think it's the key to a lot of things — simply understanding what other people need and want."

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Sterling Steeds

BY VIRGINIA P. ABELSON/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Malachuk

ACROSS														
1 Triple Crown winner: 1935	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
6 Chinese cinnamon	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
12 Branches, to a biologist	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61
16 Rainbows	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
20 Kind of energy	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
21 Climb	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103
22 "I poor Yorick"	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117
23 Grenoble's river	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131
24 Leading money winner: 1951	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145
26 Triple Crown winner: 1930	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159
28 "— and the Man"	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173
29 Galley words	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187
30 AM or FM	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201
32 Simplest	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215
33 Matter, in law	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229
34 On the left side	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243
35 Card pile	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257
36 Panel	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271
37 Par	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285
38 Elizabeth I's Lord	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299
39 Cuban coins	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313
40 Famous filly	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327
43 Triple Crown winner: 1977	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341
45 Bleat	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355
48 Away from the mouth	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369
49 "The coward does it with	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383
50 Early O'Neill play	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397
51 Parent's word	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411
52 City near Buenos Aires	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425
53 Silent greeting	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439
54 Heroic tales	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453
56 Five-time Horse of the Year	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467
57 Fox's feet	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481
58 Fruit of the blackthorn	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495
59 "— Diary"	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509
60 Huarache	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523
61 Penn, e.g.	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537
62 A Mary O'Hara horse	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551
64 Wither	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565
67 "— to go	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579
69 Skins	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593
70 Delectate	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607
71 Nuptials	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621
73 Triple Crown winner: 1973	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635
75 Sister	636	637	638	639	640									

CLIMBING ARTISTS

GARDENER'S CORNER/Walter Frankl

FEW plant groups are as unassuming as vines, and yet they are real artists at growth, spreading and covering trees, walls, pergolas and fences with greenery and colour.

There are annual vines and perennial ones, deciduous and some evergreen ones. The deciduous vines are outstanding for their attractive flowers, and some provide gorgeous masses of blooms in spring and summer. The evergreen vines may be used as climbers or as ground covers.

Vines support themselves in various ways. In their natural habitat in the woods, they use branches to reach the sunny tops of trees, but in the garden, artificial means of support must be provided. To do this in the right way, you need to know about how vines climb.

If you walk in rural areas, passing from house to house, you will find hardly a garden without climbing vines. Some sprout along fences, some cover whole walls, and some even climb on high trees, encircling them with a cover of foliage. Ivy, for instance, climbs up tree trunks using its root-like adhesive pads (aerial roots), which soon appear on the undersides of stems. Pine or cypress bark is a very suitable surface for ivy's clinging ability.

Another group of vines are the twining ones, which wrap themselves round and round whatever is available. Some twine from left to right, and some do the reverse. The way they wind is inherent in the species and cannot be changed. The honeysuckle (*Lonicera*) belongs to this group.

There is a third group of vines, those that produce tendrils, thread-like appendages along stems that

reach out and coil around twigs or other slender objects. Some vines in this category like the Virginia creeper (*Ampelopsis*) glue themselves to walls, providing them a lovely green cover during spring and summer, changing to carmine in autumn. There are also many other plants that grow quite high, but lack adhesive rootlets, twining sprouts or tendrils. They have to be supported by wires or tied to a trellis. "Climbing" roses and the bougainvillea belong to this group.

No garden is complete without at least a few climbing plants. Trellises and arches can be beautified with ugly walls completely covered with a living blanket, or fences, old trees and stumps can be given a gay appearance when covered with one or more of the popular varieties listed here:

Annual vines. Sweet peas (*Lathyrus odoratus*, *topah rehane*) is grown by seed sown in October, reaches a height of 1-2 metres and flowers in spring in many colours. Very fragrant. Clockvine (*Thunbergia alata*, also in Hebrew), a native of tropical Africa, is named after Swedish Karl Peter Thunberg, a student of Linnaeus who became a professor of botany. It sometimes reaches a height of 4 metres and covers a large area with little orange, blue or white flowers with a black-dot centre.

Ornamental gourds (*Cucurbitaceae*, *papo*, *dla'at lenoi*) are grown mostly for their fruits. Seeds should be sown where they are to grow. (No trans-

planting!) Gourds thrive best in light, rich soil and in a sunny place. The best time to sow gourds is when the weather turns warm (May). Ornamental gourds are most attractive when sown around the pillars of a pergola.

Feed them regularly with liquid chicken manure and water every second day; they will soon reach the top of the pergola and after flowering decorate it with their funny-shaped fruits. The young plants every 25cm. Gourds should be picked for table decoration when ripe, before the cooler weather of fall. They may be grown together with another annual climber, the sponge plant (*Luffa cylindrica*, *luffa* or *luffa* in Hebrew). The luffa is a very useful summer plant with glossy green leaves and bright yellow flowers. The deep green, cucumber-like young fruit is edible, and when ripe and dried can be used as sponges in the kitchen. Like gourds, luffa can be sown in May.

Scarlet runner bean (*Phaseolus coccineus*, *sheoetet metapesset*) is a quick-growing edible with many little scarlet flowers preceding the beans for cooking. It likes full sun and light (sandy) soil. Beans need a support (wire fence is best). Beans should be sown in May. With regular watering (2-3 times a week) and frequent weeding and cultivations they'll bloom in July and last until August.

Cup and saucer vine (*Cobaea scandens*, *cobaea* in Hebrew), will grow 5

metres high and bloom with decorative, bell-shaped, lilac flowers from July to September. Cobaea is named in honour of Father Barnadez Cobo, a 17th century Spanish Jesuit and naturalist. Cobaea, native to Mexico, can be propagated from seeds in spring.

Nasturtium (*Tropaeolum majus*, *kava hanazeer*) is one of the most popular garden flowers everywhere and also in this country. It appears in three forms: single- or double-flowering bushes and climbing species in shades of red, yellow and orange. We refer to the third species, the climbing nasturtium. It can be sown near a fence or a shrub where it will find support for its long (1-3 metres), quick-growing stems. Sowing times for nasturtium in this country are September and February. It flowers for a long period 2½ months after sowing and later seeds itself. Nasturtium, when sown near a flowerless hedge or a flowerless shrub, will penetrate into the branches of these plants and finally they will appear with flowers in red, yellow or orange at their tips. It's funny and most decorative.

Morning glory (*Ipomoea purpurea*, *lepufit*) originated in tropical America and also appears as a perennial. Propagate by seed. Make holes near high trees, a fence or a pergola and sow 3-4 of the little ipomoea seeds at a depth of 2cm. Leave the 2 strongest plants after germination and remove the others; they will grow better when twining around in pairs.

Ipomoea can grow 10 metres high or more and blooms throughout the summer in blue, purple or pink funnel-shaped flowers. It's funny when ipomoea flowers suddenly



Vines climb in various ways: at left, English ivy with aerial rootlets; centre, honeysuckle, which twines; and, right, Virginia creeper with tendrils.

appear on tree tops, giving an illusion of a blue- or purple-flowering pine or poplar. Ipomoea flowers open at night and when illuminated are one of the great pleasures of city gardening. In America they are also called "moonflowers" for this reason.

Perennial vines. Perennial climbers are valuable not only because of the beauty of their leaves or flowers, but because they add variety of outline to the garden and make it more interesting. The choice is wonderfully varied, and there are kinds to suit every garden. Some are as small as the wax flower (*Hoya carnosa*, *bah-shewa*), which can be potted in a 10cm. flower pot and should never be changed to a larger one. It will do well on a sunny balcony, growing from wall to wall, and each summer showing its wax-like little flowers in white and pink.

There are also giant climbers like knotweed or fleecy flower (*Polygonum baldschuanicum*, *arkubil*), which in my garden "runs" over fences, trees and houses and into the neighbour's garden, covering every-

thing in its way with an abundance of white little flowers, which appear twice each year. To complete the list of vines, here are more of the perennial species:

English ivy (*Hedera helix*, *kissus habahresh*). "Hedera" is the Latin name for ivy and "helix" means "twisted or spiral." Native to the Rocky Mountain states in the U.S. and the Canary Islands, ivy has adjusted to the conditions in Europe and today this beautiful evergreen from the ginseng family grows wild all over Europe, often covering acres of ground under high trees and climbing up their trunks.

Ivy has been cultivated since ancient times, and there are quite a number of ivy species spread all over the world. All ivies are easy to root from cuttings, and even form roots in water when used in vases as indoor decorations. Ivies can be also used as pot plants and fit well into balcony boxes.

The climbing rose (*rosa*, *vered metapesset*) is the first to bloom in early spring. It produces an abundance of flowers in different colours.

but in contrast to tea, hybrid or polyantha roses, the climbing rose mostly stop flowering in June, when other rose species are in full bloom.

The propagation of climbing roses is the same as with all other rose species - by bare-root saplings in early winter. No roses are truly climbers. They produce exceptionally long canes which have to be tied to a support. These roses (sometimes also called pillar or rambler roses) reach a height of 4-5 metres or more.

Grape vines (*Vitis vinifera*, *gefen*) like roses, are grown from bare root saplings in early winter. A grape vine can reach several metres in length in a relatively short time and is an ideal plant to cover a pergola. In addition to shade during the hot summer months, it provides delicious fruit. When planted near a fence, a space of 2½-3 metres should be kept from plant to plant. For good fruit, canes should be shortened back each year in late winter, leaving only one or two buds for the new season's growth.

More on perennial vines in my next column.

SPECIAL CONCERT for Martyrs and Heroes Memorial Day (Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, May 6), Ramat Gan Symphony Orchestra, Amos Meller, conductor; Shmuel Rodensky, recitation; Moshe Hoch, commentator; singer, Meir Shalev; piano, Perry Feld; Shoshana Goles, harp.

TO COLLECT evidence of cultural activity during the Holocaust inside the hell of German extermination camps is surely an important and necessary undertaking. To make a business out of this to the extent that Parkinson's Law applies is reprehensible, and it should be nipped in the bud by the authorities in charge.

The music performed under the incredible conditions at Theresienstadt and Auschwitz was dictated by the chance combinations of surviving musicians; the composers caught in the Nazi spider web did not belong to the ranks of Milhaud, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, who found refuge in good time in the U.S., though some might have reached higher levels of creation had they not met death at the prime of life.

The examples presented here were pathetic in their sketchiness and inherent weaknesses in form and content, but it is impossible to judge anything for quality when presented by a most mediocre, makeshift ensemble, which couldn't even play in tune or with a semblance of precision, and was led by a conductor who never made an imprint on our local music life. Once there was a Ramat Gan Chamber Orchestra, founded and directed by the late Michael Taube, which ceased to be when he died in 1972, and Mr. Meller's endeavours to revive it in some form or other have never borne fruit. Mr.

Terrible evening all-around

MUSIC

Hoch apparently invented his "Institute for the Research of Jewish Music of the Holocaust" after *Jeunes Musicales* was released from his directorship after many decades; why, one wonders, should it be separate from the Research Centre of Jewish Music at the Hebrew University, for example, and why should it be together with the music library in Givatayim, (or is that a matter of convenience for Mr. Hoch-Parkinson?) Even worse, a whole series of similar concerts is planned of Music of the Holocaust and music written in memory of this historical catastrophe!

To give this event more weight, the patronage of the prime minister was sought and a top Yad Vashem official presented its greetings and good wishes. A private television crew of two crawled about the place, including the stage, during the presentations, without consideration for the atmosphere or for the sparse audience. Mr. Hoch - director, commentator, promoter - even sang to the music by Arthur Gelbrun. Hoch, Hoch and hee-hee!

The Yad Vashem authorities bear a responsibility to keep activities in

connection with the Holocaust on a dignified level and, in the case of music on a professionally high level. This evening was one of the worst experiences - professionally - I have had in over 30 years of listening to musical performances as a critic.

YOHANAN BOEHM

JEWISH MUSIC DAYS, Concert No.4 with Gila Bashary, vocalist, Motti Shmit, violin, Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, Gary Bertini, conductor, Mark Kopytman: "Sing, Memory," for vocalist and orchestra, in a poem by Rabbi Shalom Shabazi; Joseph Achiron: Hebrew Melody; Ernest Bloch: Nigun from Baal Shem; Gershwin: Gershwin's Symphony No.1 in D major (Henry Crown Auditorium, Jerusalem, May 1).

THIS FOURTH and final concert in the Jewish Music Days series, as heard on the radio, suffered from serious shortcomings in programming.

Only one substantial piece was played in the first half, Kopytman's "Sing, Memory." With Gila Bashary's authentic singing of Rabbi Shabazi's poem, and Bertini's knowing and dedicated support, the work confirmed earlier favourable impressions and seems well on its way to becoming a repertory staple. Certainly the audience responded with an ovation unusual for a contemporary work.

Violinist Motti Shmit played the Achiron and Bloch works with affection and understanding. But attractive as they are with their echoes of the East European shetl, they are hardly more than encore pieces. Surely a more substantial Jewish work could have been found to fill out a first half with less than one half hour of music.

Mahler's First Symphony is something of a house speciality with Bertini and the JSO. Bertini's usually tense performance of this massive work has relaxed somewhat, allowing the music to breathe, but the reading remains emotionally affecting and intellectually stimulating.

But is this marvellous music appropriate in a concert specifically devoted to Jewish music? Whether for reasons of professional advancement or personal conviction, Mahler was an apostate Jew. There is nothing identifiably Jewish in his music, and the only religion he celebrates is pantheism. Another work, perhaps less satisfying musically but more "Jewish", should have been found for the climactic piece of this praiseworthy and generally excellent Jewish Music Days series.

MOSHE SAPERSTEIN

THE REVIEW of Jewish Art Music in Profile in Thursday's paper was by Moshe Saperstein, and not as stated.

Laughing with happiness

RANDOMALIA
Miriam Arad

UNLESS you know better, you might think there are large numbers of drunken drivers in Nairobi, they weave about so. In fact, they are only trying to avoid the potholes. The roads in and around Nairobi are truly awful, but once you get away from them the going is smooth, especially when you hit the major north-bound road, named, in a burst of optimism, The Great Trans-African Highway.

As most Kenyans are too poor to own a car, there is not much inter-urban traffic, and the only thing that holds you up occasionally is a toll station, or a herd of cows which, having pedestrian priority, amble across at their leisure. We also stopped once, in the Great Rift Valley, to let a dust devil cross the road in front of us. It sprang up all of a sudden on our left, turned instantly into a towering pillar, whirled towards the road, whizzed across, shook its tail and died on the other side as we watched spellbound. They tell you beauty is ephemeral, but that ephemeral I've never seen it.

Apart from giving the right-of-way to cows and whirlwinds, we pull up once in a while of our own accord to inspect some phenomenon: a three-metre-high termite nest, a tree with dozens of oval-shaped bird-nests dangling from its branches like fruit, or the hollowed-out halves of bark perched on trees which, with a little honey poured in, serve as beehives.

It's in the Rift Valley, too, that for the first and probably last time in my life I watch a complete manufacturing process *in situ*. We stop by a field of sisal plants, where men are at work harvesting the long, tough, spiky leaves and loading them onto a cart. We follow the cart as it is trundled to an open shed, where the leaves are sent through a machine - the sole mechanical device present - which flattens and squeezes them, till they come out as damp bunches of fibre at the other end. These are collected by the amful and spread out to dry - a one-day affair: it's hot in the Rift. Finally a girl of 13 or so,



Smiling salesman at work in the open-air market in Mombasa

(World Bank)

busy gathering up the dried sisal, picks up a strand of fibre and, at my request deftly twists me a length of rope out of it, giggling fit to bust. When I offer her the last of our sweets, her giggles turn to outright laughter, for that is one of the most endearing qualities of the people here: they laugh when they're happy.

And it doesn't take much - sweets, a few shillings, an old shirt - to make them happy, most of them have so little. The contrast between the palatial residences of Nairobi and the

way most people live in the rest of the country is stark. There still are quite a few villages consisting of the traditional round wattle-and-mud huts with thatched roofs, which look very pretty on the outside, but from what I have seen of the inside are rather squalid.

Francis, the chauffeur, who has cheerfully consented to answer any and all of my questions, some of which amuse him intensely. He denies the existence of mud huts altogether when the subject comes up between us in Nairobi. Mud huts are a thing of

the past, he assures me, before progress came to Kenya. Maybe there are some in the remotest regions, he concedes, where people are still primitive, but not in the highlands where life is already modern and civilized. Then one day we drive through the highlands, and behold - a mud-but village. I look but say nothing, and for a moment Francis, too, maintains his habitual poker-faced expression. Then he sucks in his cheeks to keep the laughter out of his voice and says: "All right. So ask."

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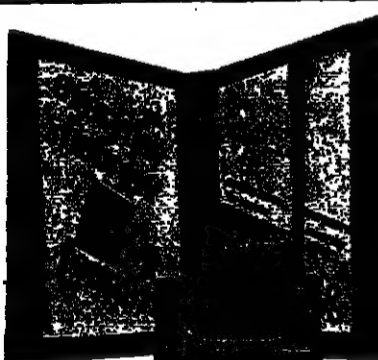
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